

BARON MAURICE DE HIRSCH

HISTORY OF THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND

The Americanization of the Jewish Immigrant

By

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PRINTED FOR BARON DE HIRSCH FUND BY
THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY

Printed in United States of America

FOREWORD

THE Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund selected Dr. Samuel Joseph, Professor of Sociology of the College of the City of New York, to prepare this account of their stewardship. His special knowledge of immigration and of Jewish life convinced them that his work would result not in a mere institutional report, but in a document of value to all engaged in the promotion of human welfare. Since the foundation of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in 1891, the Trustees have blazed a hitherto unmarked trail. They have made many mistakes. One purpose of this book is to point out these mistakes so that others may profit by them. Whatever has been successful in the work of the Fund will speak for itself.

"J'avais résolu de donner aux personnes honorables de New York prêtes à concourir à mon œuvre le rôle de sauveurs dans un immense désastre."

BARON MAURICE DE HIRSCH

"Mere temporary benefactions are readily forgotten when the emergency passes away, but profound modifications of communal and national life are historic events."

JUDGE MAYER SULZBERGER

PREFACE

THE past fifty years saw the transplantation of nearly one-third of the Jews of Eastern Europe to the United States. It was a veritable tidal wave, incredible in swiftness and extent. In the course of a single generation, one out of every three Jews living in the countries of Eastern Europe had left his homeland. Within a comparatively short time, the Jewish emigrés here—in contrast with other immigrant groups—had the ingredients of a practically complete society. All generations, all classes and nearly every occupation typical of a normal social group were represented. The problems of transit and resettlement of these several millions of Jews became perforce matters of international concern. The Baron de Hirsch Fund was created to deal with the needs of these immigrants in the United States, who constituted the vast majority—at least three-fourths—of those who left their ancestral homes. It was begun as part of one of the noblest plans ever conceived by a great philanthropist for the redemption of his people through emigration and the reconstruction of their lives. Organized at a most critical time, the Fund has continued its work for nearly half a century, spanning in its long career the influx of Eastern European Jews during the first half of this period, the virtual cessation of this movement after the War, and the recent entry of Jews from Germany. This volume is the first definitive record and evaluation of the labors of the Baron de Hirsch Fund since its inception.

To reorganize and rehabilitate the lives of these immigrants was a serious undertaking. The immigrant of the Eighties and Nineties was an unknown and alien figure, even to his American brethren; indeed, there was a cleft between the two groups in language, religious practices and culture, and in wealth and social station difficult to bridge over. It was the function of the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund to take a more hopeful view of this new element and to interpret its situation to the older Jewish communities of the land, as well as to the American people. In a period of economic distress and communal disorganization rarely paralleled even in Jewish experience, the attitude of the Trustees of the Fund, and their immediate and practical efforts in many directions, gave a greatly needed impetus and stability to the work of

succor and permanent reconstruction. Prejudice gradually gave way to understanding and cooperation.

Americanization was the goal of the Fund's endeavors. This was implicit in the entire commitment though, in the earlier days, even to liberal-minded Americans, it was not quite clear what Americanization was or what it involved. The current stress on the value of immigrant institutions and the retention, to some degree, of the old world culture was grasped, if vaguely, by some of the earlier Trustees. Only by working with the immigrant Jews, in the course of decades, on many fronts, and with the insight gained through the able Russian Jews cooperating with or employed by the Fund was there developed an appreciation of the values of the new group and a knowledge of its weaknesses that proved vital for constructive effort.

The Trustees of the Fund attacked the problem of the adjustment and assimilation of the immigrant Jewish population from many angles: relief, temporary aid, the promotion of suburban industrial enterprises, removal from urban centers, land settlement, agricultural training, trade and general education, and the aid and protection of the immigrants through port work and legislative and legal channels. Hardly a phase of Jewish immigrant life in the United States remained untouched. The vigor and the ability to care for themselves shown by the immigrants through the agencies and institutions they subsequently created, made the emergency and relief activities of the Fund unnecessary as time went on, so that for the past two decades it has been concentrating its energies upon the development of the permanent institutions and subsidiary organizations created, subsidizing other agencies better fitted to carry on certain tasks.

The attempt to direct a large and rapidly augmenting immigrant group, and to guide them for their economic and social welfare, was a bold, indeed a unique venture. It was clear from the beginning that here was to be experimentation in an unknown field and on an unusual scale. For there were no guide-posts on this road. Mistakes of all sorts were to be expected, and, indeed, many were made. It was unfortunate, for instance, that New York took complete control of the Fund, even though the main port of entry and destination of the majority of the immigrants was this city. The cooperation of the smaller communities was difficult to secure, though it was vital for complete success. At times, the work would have gained from the closer and more intimate contact with the personal and human aspects typical of the small community. Another obstacle was lack of agreement as to the aims of the

Trustees in various of the experiments or the methods by which these aims were to be achieved. The best illustration is Woodbine. The detailed manner in which this and the other enterprises of the Fund have been set forth is occasioned by the realization of the nature of the problems and the difficulties encountered in their solution.

Nevertheless, this survey shows that the Trustees of the Fund anticipated, to a surprising degree, many of the social techniques which have now become commonplaces in social engineering. Their pioneering not only aided thousands of Jewish immigrants individually and en masse but materially influenced American sentiment and practice. The organization of the first secondary agricultural school in the United States, the initiation of the first credit unions, the institution of new methods of training in trades for the immigrant youth, the distribution of the immigrants from congested urban centers to the smaller communities, were widely acclaimed by American experts. The methods of educating the immigrant youth and adult in the Baron de Hirsch immigrant classes in English and American Government were adopted and closely followed. The intensive work of aid to and education of the Jewish farmers had no parallel in American experience. The present governmental program of subsistence-homesteading was approached, if not envisaged in its entirety, by the unsuccessful efforts of many years to relocate industries in smaller centers and agricultural sections; by the aid to part-time agriculture whose value is only now being realized by the farm credit agencies of the government; and, more directly, by the organization of settlements of an agricultural type, located near industrial centers, members of which depend partly for their maintenance upon work in the nearby towns. All these activities were parts of a far-flung program for the reorganization of the occupationally concentrated and highly urbanized character Jewish immigrant life had assumed in the United States.

All this was persistently carried on by the Trustees of the Fund for over forty years, soberly, quietly, without fanfare of trumpets, and often without the meed of appreciation on the part of those whom they served. That a group of business and professional men, without the advantages of a social science that was yet to be born, could grapple for decades the serious problems involving a large immigrant population, is a heartening example of social vision and of loyalty to their people.

The materials for this survey have been obtained from many sources. The minute-books of the Board of Trustees of the Baron

de Hirsch Fund, the reports of its committees, and its extensive correspondence have been the chief source of the factual information presented in the book. Also carefully consulted and utilized were the annual reports of the Jewish Agricultural Society, the minute-books of its Board of Directors, as well as those of the Industrial Removal Office. It has been deemed unnecessary to give specific references to this body of material. Where information was gathered from books, magazine articles, newspaper accounts, etc. the source has been noted in the appropriate place.

The author finds it possible to mention only a few of the many individuals who have been of service in the writing of this book. His greatest obligation is to the members of the committee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund who were charged with the issuance of this work—Mr. Solomon G. Rosenbaum, Mr. Eugene S. Benjamin, and the late Mr. Max J. Kohler, chairman of this committee. They read all the chapters, made innumerable suggestions of value, and discussed mooted points in conference with the author. The book has gained much from their intimate and authoritative knowledge of the operations of the Fund and its subsidiary and related organizations, and equally from their penetrating analysis of the presentation. It was refreshing to note their willingness to accept views that differed from their own. Chapter Three was read by Mr. J. Ernest G. Yalden, the first Superintendent of the Trade School, and by Mr. Charles L. Bernheimer, chairman for many years of the Trade School Committee of the Fund: Mr. Robert H. Greene, the present Superintendent of the Trade School, helped to clarify many matters. Chapter Seven was read by the Hon. Abram I. Elkus, whose criticism was helpful. Mr. Gabriel Davidson, General Manager of the Jewish Agricultural Society, Mr. Benjamin C. Stone and other members of the staff, read Chapter Five with great care, prepared valuable material, and cleared up perplexing points at various conferences. Mr. Benjamin cheerfully put at the service of the author the facilities of the Fund's office and helped in more ways than it is possible to record. Among the many interviews which were necessitated, the most memorable were with the only living member of the first Board of Trustees of the Fund, Dr. Julius Goldman, whose zeal and fire, at the age of eighty-two, bear living witness to the passionate devotion which he gave to the Fund's many causes.

Thanks are due Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Jewish Theological Seminary, for granting the use for several years of a research room at a time when such facilities were scarce and in great demand. The Secretary of the Seminary, Mr. Joseph B. Abrahams, and his friendly staff of workers extended many courtesies, and made the author feel as if he were an official member of the organization. He can hardly find words to express his sense of their kindness. The aid of able research assistants, Dr. Zola Bronson and Theodore Irwin, and the invaluable advice on many matters of a friend of many years, Mr. Joseph Ellner, are gratefully acknowledged.

S. J.

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CHAPTER I

THE CREATION OF THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND

Part 1.—Flight and Exile

The Russian Refugees

The vast domed shed called Castle Garden, the immigrant-receiving station at New York for decades before Ellis Island was built, seethed with unprecedented tumult in the summer and fall of 1881. For here were packed, in bare and narrow quarters meant for a short stay, thousands of men, women and children in unimaginable misery and confusion. Hundreds more were arriving daily. All of these were Jewish refugees from Russia, many of them victims of the pogroms in South Russia which had shocked the world a few months prior.[1]

No hindrances were put to their admission by the then Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York. Medical examination became a matter of form. The scenes witnessed at Castle Garden for these many months had never before been enacted at this historic place, caught wholly unprepared for this onrush, and, indeed, have never been since then repeated. For days, these disheveled and bewildered immigrants slept on the bare floors or on wooden benches provided for them at the immigrant station or in the buildings on Ward's Island. The more fortunate were accommodated in the immigrant lodging houses in the lower part of the city, which were soon filled to overflowing. Finally, barracks were erected on Ward's Island to house the ever-mounting flood. Hundreds were sent to South Jersey, and to Greenpoint, Long Island, where more barracks were constructed, and the newcomers set to work. The physical conditions—overcrowding, insanitation, bad food—were not the worst these immigrants had to endure. Terror lined many of their faces as the result of their tragic experiences. Others, separated from their families, were unnerved with anxiety. What, moreover, was to be their fate here, in this unknown land?

Few at the time realized that they were beholding in these refugees the advance-guard of a stream of Jewish emigrants that

was eventually to land, within one short generation, over two millions of this people to our shores. The American as well as the American-Jewish press paid little attention to these new arrivals and their problems, though considerable interest was manifested in the situation of the Jews of Russia.

World Protests

Indeed, few events were publicized as widely as the first "pogroms" in Russia. No League of Nations held court at the time, but the spontaneous outcry of horror that resounded to the corners of the earth was ample evidence of the concern of the civilized world. Two of the thousands of meetings of protest symbolized in particular the ideals of liberty and justice held in common by the English-speaking peoples. These took place simultaneously on February 1, 1882, in London, at the Mansion House, and in New York, at Chickering Hall.[2] The Mansion House meeting was a memorable one. The list of signatories to the call for this meeting was a veritable roll-call of the leaders of mankind; it included Charles Darwin, Matthew Arnold, James Bryce, Robert Browning, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir John Lubbock, John Tyndall and Cardinal Manning. This occasion is worthy of a separate page in the history of the struggles for political and religious freedom, for the intellectual clarity and force with which the principles of individual and group liberty were set forth by these representative Englishmen of all creeds and classes. Indeed, Cardinal Manning, speaking on behalf of the Catholics, struck a prophetic note, which has special relevance in these days of Hitler ascendancy, when he declared: "Further, I may say that, while we do not intend to touch upon any question in the internal legislation of Russia, still there are laws larger than any Russian legislation, laws which are equally binding in London, in St. Petersburg, and in Moscow—the laws of humanity, of nature, and of God—which are the foundation of all other laws; and if in any legislation these are violated, all nations of Christian Europe, the whole commonwealth of civilized and Christian men, would instantly acquire a right to speak out loud. And now, my Lord, I must touch upon one point which I acknowledge has been very painful to me. We have all watched for the last twelve months what is called the anti-Semitic movement in Germany. I look upon it with a twofold feeling: in the first place, I look upon it with abhorrence as tending to disintegrate the foundations of social life, and, secondly, with great fear lest it may tend to light up an animosity which has already taken fire in Russia and may spread elsewhere."

Relief Measures

The formation of the famous Mansion House Committee followed. This was but one of many voluntary committees organized in Europe and in cities of the United States engaged in the first international effort on behalf of Russian Jewry to extend aid to the victims of governmental fury and repression. Leadership in the crisis inevitably fell to the Alliance Israelite Universelle as the representative international Jewish body of the day, with committees in the chief cities of Europe and America, and, behind it, a history of long and able service to Jewish causes.

Their immediate concern centered at Brody, poverty-stricken Galician town on the Austrian frontier. This was the nearest port of safety of hundreds of victims of pogroms in South Russia and of others all too justified in their fear of impending violence. Here, the winter of 1881 found ten thousand refugees huddled in terror and destitution, hundreds more arriving daily, until twenty-four thousand men, women and children were gathered amid scenes that defied description. A classic phrase of that moment, "Lost as in Brody," vainly attempted to capture the misery of the victims, the despair of broken families seeking to reunite their scattered members, fear of epidemic and the unutterable despair of these unfortunates.[3]

Order came out of the chaos, when Netter, veteran Alliance worker, took charge. With rare insight, Netter swiftly summed up the situation as an immense disaster. "There is need for a permanent resettlement of millions of Russian Jews," he wrote the leaders of the Alliance. Emigration seemed the only solution. Registration, provision of food, clothing and shelter, the formation of parties of emigrants and their dispatch to whatever countries were willing to care for them—all this consumed many months. Still the stream rushed on to Brody, as the pogroms continued unabated. At times, it seemed a huge, unavailing task.

Whither?

To the newer and comparatively undeveloped countries—South America, South Africa, Australia, Canada, and, above all, the United States—with their vast tracts of land and sparse populations, attention was focussed. Possible outlets for emigration had been earnestly canvassed by the Alliance committees in Paris, Vienna, Berlin and London. While numbers could be cared for in countries adjoining Russia, their powers of absorbing large bodies of emigrants were limited. America offered the broadest possibil-

ities in this time of need. Here there were boundless territory, inexhaustible resources, great commercial and industrial expansion and a welcoming hand. Here, too, leaders of the Alliance had previously sought, in tentative fashion, to create a new center of attraction for the Jews of Eastern Europe. From time to time, in the Seventies, the Alliance had sent out small groups of Russian-Jewish families, most of whom had been entrusted to the care of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites.[4] Many more had wandered here attracted by economic opportunities, so that at the beginning of the Eighties there were in the United States some forty thousand Russian and Polish Jews.

The work at Brody, and wherever the emigrants were massed, was directed along definite lines. Properly qualified individuals were selected, preferably young unmarried men or heads of families, healthy and strong, with a knowledge of a useful trade or business and enough means to support themselves for some time. In addition to those directed to European countries, groups were sent to the United States, where the leaders of the Alliance branches were notified of their coming. All whose prospects were hazardous for making their way in a new country were returned to Russia.

Thousands, however, began leaving Russia of their own accord, with the aid of friends or through means of their own. This despite all attempts on the part of the Alliance committees to control the movement of departure.

"Whither to flee?" agitated the Pale. The question was debated in hamlets and villages, on street corners, in synagogues and wherever men congregated. As in Nazi Germany today, there was confusion of counsel. Should the Jews migrate en masse or demand their rights as citizens and human beings? Jewish notables argued that emigration would mean the surrender of their traditional rights in the fatherland for which they had fought and bled. A small but zealous band of young men vehemently preached the return to Palestine. But the great masses listened to those who pointed to the impracticability of settlement in the then barren wastes of the Holy Land. Young men, idealistically inclined, visioned the regeneration of the Russian Jews through return to the land, and where was there a better land than America to begin this great enterprise. These idealists formed a society known as "Am Olam" (The Eternal People), with branches organized in Odessa, Kiev, Wilna and other cities, and parties of these emigrants began to leave for the United States.

The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society

American Jews were too distant from these scenes at Brody and other cities of Europe to realize the full extent of the disaster. As there began arriving in New York City and Philadelphia boatloads of Russian Jews in the appalling state previously described, a Russian Emigrants' Relief Committee was hastily organized in September 1881, under the chairmanship of Judge Myer S. Isaacs. This gave way to a union of all Jewish elements in the city—never before united, remarked Philip Cowen—into the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. This society was destined to write an important chapter in the annals of American Jewry.[5]

As most of the arrivals were practically destitute, the first efforts were directed to their immediate necessities, which involved the setting up of a labor bureau at Castle Garden and on the lower East Side. Plans for placing the future immigrants on the land were considered, and Dr. Julius Goldman was sent West to investigate opportunities for agricultural settlement. Optimistically describing the prospects, he presented a careful calculation of the costs of colonization. To effect a working arrangement with the Alliance, the Mansion House Committee of London, and other committees that were attempting to direct the current of emigrants, Moritz Ellinger represented the society at an international conference of all these groups held in Berlin in April 1882. Many of the difficulties that had developed were ironed out at this conference. The Europeans agreed to aid in the financing of the colonization plans, and to coordinate their activities, the Paris Committee of the Alliance undertaking to study the question of directing emigrants to other countries besides the United States and the British colonies, the Mansion House Committee to systematize the selection of the emigrants to be sent to this country, and to supervise them from the time they left their town in Russia until their arrival in the United States. Only refugees—direct victims of pogroms—were to be sent, those with a trade, able and willing to work as laborers or to settle on the lands bought by the American society. The latter also agreed to the condition that the religious scruples of the emigrants were to be respected, as complaints were numerous that immigrants in America had been compelled to work on the Sabbath.

For the most part these plans and agreements were doomed to failure. Barely had the international conference ended when a new series of pogroms began in the spring of 1882 and threw another horde of refugees in Brody. By the end of May they amounted to 20,000 persons. Several thousands of these were repatriated, about

eight thousand refugees were dispatched to various countries in Europe, Asia and Africa and an equal number to the United States.[6] Nevertheless, the effort to control and direct the large resistless current of emigration was beyond the power of the organized Jewish committees. It was indeed to become a trying, vexatious problem for years to come. In the United States the relief funds raised, amounting to $300,000 (one-third of which was sent by Europe) were amazing for this period of beginnings in relief-collection and community responsibility. They proved inadequate to meet the needs of the thousands of inpouring Russian Jews. The program of coordination between the European committees and the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society broke down, despite the labors of Ellinger and of Edward Lauterbach who followed him to Europe on a similar mission, and the visit to this country of a representative of the Mansion House Committee, George S. Yates. Doubts were cast upon the efficiency of the work in America and upon the willingness of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society to receive as many emigrants as this country could absorb. These were strengthened by cables from the latter organization to London to send only young, unmarried mechanics, as it was thought impossible for any one with a family to earn a living, and to send no farmers, as few of the emigrants were fit for farming, and there were not sufficient funds to take care of more farmers. The upshot was the ending of the agreements of the Berlin conference, and the distribution by the London committee of emigrants to various cities of the United States, without reference to the American organization. It was fortunate, indeed, that the fall of the minister responsible for the May Laws, Ignatieff, and his replacement by a liberal, ended the fear of further pogroms. Some five thousand refugees still remaining in Brody returned to their homes in Russia, and the emigrant tide began to subside. The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society formally disbanded in 1883, its leaders believing that the emergency was over. Few realized that merely a respite had been granted them, a short one indeed.

Michael Heilprin

Only one man in the society, and he happened to be its leading spirit, did not cease his efforts. This was Michael Heilprin.[7] No one in these feverish days carried its burdens more, felt the trials of the Russian-Jewish immigrants and concerned himself so deeply with the problems of their future in America.

Heilprin was quite a unique figure in New York of the Eighties, set apart from the Jews of his day by an unusual, even romantic past, and by his interests and associations. Born in Russian-Poland of a family of Hebrew scholars, he had left, a young man, with his family for Hungary, where, in spite of his origin and his peculiar Polish-Jewish costume, his linguistic attainments and literary powers won him welcome to the best society. His warm espousal of the cause of national freedom led to his selection in 1848 as literary secretary of the Department of the Interior of Kossuth's revolutionary government. With the collapse of the revolution he fled to Paris. After a short return to Hungary, he left for England and finally came to the United States. Here he became a valued contributor to Appleton's New American Cyclopedia, edited by Ripley and Dana, and later an editorial writer on literary, historical and philosophical subjects for the Evening Post and The Nation. His two-volume study, "The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews," was acclaimed by leading Hebrew and Christian scholars. His associations were mainly with Americans; he was not a professing Jew or member of any congregation or Jewish philanthropic endeavor.

The persecutions of the Jews in Russia aroused Heilprin from his absorption in scholarly matters, and with the coming of the refugees into the city, he threw himself passionately into the work of aid. Pollak, his son-in-law and biographer, records a pertinent incident at the first deliberations of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. Contemptuous remarks had been made about the "Polacks," as Russian and Polish Jews were termed by their German-Jewish brethren. Mr. Heilprin arose for the first time and quietly said: "I am a Polish Jew. I belong to that despised race." This he followed with an appeal for understanding the new group which changed completely the attitude of his hearers.

The self-sacrifice and untiring exertion shown by Heilprin in those many months of stress as member and later as unpaid secretary of the society, made him beloved by the immigrants of all groups and of every shade of opinion; they felt themselves understood by him as by no other in the community. He became their interpreter to the older Jewish groups. Pollak gives this picture of Heilprin's activities:[8]

> For months he spent many hours of the day in the dingy basement office in State Street which served as the headquarters of the Aid Society, devising measures for the rapidly increasing number of arrivals, for the immediate relief of the needy, and for the transportation to other places of those willing and able to leave the city. Nor was this all. The situation had to be explained, in their own language and dialect, to the bewildered immigrants. More than once, during the hot days of the summer of 1882, and in the stifling atmosphere

of the State Street office, Mr. Heilprin had to point out to the hapless mothers of young children the need of the most elementary sanitary rules; not infrequently he was compelled to argue earnestly with the more impatient and obstreperous of the immigrants, who could not or would not understand that the land of liberty was, like the countries of the old world, subject to laws and restrictions that must be obeyed. Perhaps, more trying of all, he had to overcome, as far as lay in his power, the prejudice of those of his race who could see only the uncouth aspects of the refugees and failed to recognize the idealism, the intellectual alertness, and the various latent abilities which have since, in so many cases, asserted themselves among them and their descendants.

Colonization

Agricultural colonization, rather than relief, was Heilprin's main interest, to which he devoted the few remaining years of his life. He inspired the program of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society toward this end, which led to the founding of two colonies, one in Cotopaxi, Colorado, and the other in Vineland, in southern New Jersey, which was named Alliance, in honor of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. The conditions under which these were started were described by Heilprin:[9]

Very shortly after the arrival of a large number of refugees in this country, some twenty months ago, we became cognizant of the fact, that, among the many whose misfortune and misery appealed to the benevolence of their more fortunate brethren, there were not a few whose firm determination or ardent desire to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits, in the land which was to become their new home, deserved special attention. There were elderly men who had tasted all the wretchedness, and had felt the shame, of Jewish trading life in Russia; but side by side with them, strenuous youths whom a suddenly awakened Jewish enthusiasm had led to the fixed purpose of becoming the pioneers of their down-trodden and decried people in a field of natural, useful and redeeming activity. Some of these men were enthusiastic dreamers, others were equally clear-sighted and resolute; some had nothing to lose, others were ready to sacrifice to their ideal alluring personal chances and lucrative careers formerly entered upon. Their determination, the end in view, appealed to our sympathy, and we did not refuse our help.

We devoted our first attention to an organized association of capable and well educated young men from South Russia, chiefly from Odessa and its environs. We formed a small committee for the foundation of a colony to be called New Odessa. It was no light task to collect means for this object, at a time when every day brought into our port vessels thronged with refugees, whose hunger and want of shelter pressed every other claim upon public charity into the background. We had also to contend with an anti-Russian prejudice, an outgrowth of ignorance and self-over-estimation kindred to anti-Semitism. But few understood the language, the sentiments, the aims and inclinations of the strangers. But few would believe that among the wrecks of distant communities which a storm of persecution had driven to our shores, there was material for construction which might become an honor to this country, and to all Israel. The misery which made its appearance in our thoroughfares offered an aspect far from attractive. Its cries of impatience were disturbing sounds. The resignation and self-helping efforts of the most modest and patient sufferers escaped attention. The offences of the few were charged upon the multitude. Prejudice bred prejudice; and unbrotherly treatment produced rancor and spite, together with despondency. Many a small gift was offered with rudeness, some generous help was requited with ingratitude. The first attempts to found an agricultural colony (in Louisiana) failed in consequence of hasty action and an improper choice of the locality. Public benevolence limited itself to offering sustenance and occasional aid, which required immense sums. Only when dire necessity demanded the removal of many of the unfortunate from the crowded city districts, were colonizing attempts on a larger scale made by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society—in the States of New Jersey and Colorado—partly with means obtained from Europe. A great deal was sacrificed with little faith.

Following the dissolution of the relief organization, Heilprin organized the Montefiore Agricultural Aid Society, in 1884, and founded in the course of several years nine new colonies, in Oregon, Kansas, the Dakotas and one in New Jersey. Ceaselessly he pleaded for funds, followed these pioneer undertakings with sympathy and understanding, and explained the failure of all but one of these colonies as due to inexperience, to hazards and misfortunes beyond the powers of these immigrants to overcome, but chiefly to the weak financial support given these first ventures of their kind in this country. Never did he lose courage or his conviction that the final solution of the immigrant's welfare lay on the land.

The history of these and of the many other colonies started in the Eighties by the immigrants themselves independently of his support cannot be told here.* The chief survivors of this pioneer period were the colonies established in southern New Jersey-Alliance, Carmel (founded by Heilprin), and Rosenhayn, and two in North Dakota, at Devil's Lake and at Painted Woods. Decades were to pass before the faith and the endeavors of Heilprin and the pioneers of this "colonial" epoch in the history of Jewish farming in the United States were to find their justification.

The Immigrant Tide

One must then project himself into the tumultuous Eighties and early Nineties of the past century to visualize the restless, resistless and disorganized flow of the Jewish immigrant tide. Every month, nearly every day of the years that followed was to witness seaports, liners and immigrant-receiving stations seething with mainly destitute immigrants, frequently with their wives and children, and their meager belongings, looking forward eagerly to their new homeland, but entering it with the uncertainty, fears

* The detailed history of these colonies is being prepared by the staff of the Jewish Agricultural Society.

and forebodings with which the unknown is faced. Within twelve years after the first refugees had been received, the numbers that had entered equalled the total Jewish population in the United States before their arrival. Only later was it to be realized that this was no ordinary, bird-of-passage movement of emigrants motivated solely by economic considerations.[10] They came in such large numbers, with such incredible swiftness, and family-burdened that it was clear that here was a migration-movement, a permanent and stable settlement of a people who came in a search for freedom as well as opportunity, in the spirit of the Pilgrim Founders.

Part 2.—The Creation of the Baron de Hirsch Fund

Enter Baron de Hirsch

"The measures now being enforced against the Jews which are equivalent to their wholesale expulsion do not appear to me to be altogether a misfortune to the Russian Jew. I think that the worst thing that could happen to these unfortunate people would be to continue for an indefinite period the wretched existence which they have led up to the present time, crowded together in narrow streets, merely vegetating without hope and without a future, reduced to a condition incompatible with the dignity of human beings. The only means to raise their condition is to remove them from the soil to which they are rooted and to transport them to other countries, where they will enjoy the same rights as the people among whom they live and where they will cease to be pariahs, and become citizens. What is going on in Russia today may be the prelude to their beneficent transformation."[1]

In these simple words Baron Maurice de Hirsch announced to the world his scheme of salvation for the Jews of Russia. His plan was flouted as visionary. There were many critics both within and without the Jewish fold who pointed out the enormous difficulties involved in the removal of a population of nearly five millions within an appreciable period.[2] That it was not merely a magnificent gesture but the serious determination of the richest Jew of his time to put his vast fortune and undeniable powers of organization at the service of the poorest and most miserable of his people heartened all lovers of humanity. Its immediate effect was to strengthen the many groups of Jews and Gentiles alike engaged in almost every part of the world in preparing new roads of life for the refugees. For the Russian Jews, the ancient pattern of persecution and deliverance was unrolling before their eyes. Baron de

Hirsch became their symbol of Divine protection and his portrait adorned the meanest home of the Pale.

This is not the place to record in detail the facts of his life. It is sufficient to note that he had retired at a comparatively early age from money making, one of the wealthiest men of his time. His son Lucien had died when quite a young man. His main interest had become philanthropy. It was observed that he distributed his money with as much care as he had made it. Though he contributed freely to non-Jewish causes, he was gradually devoting more of his attention to Jewish needs and leaning heavily in the Seventies and Eighties upon the advice of leaders of the Alliance Israelite Universelle.

Toward the relief of the refugees at Brody, he had contributed one million francs. From then on he became concerned with the fate of the Russian Jews, both in their homeland and in their wanderings. To Europe and the United States he gave freely in answer to appeals, particularly in behalf of Jewish colonization.

Mindful of the special significance of the educational restrictions in 1887, the Baron grasped this first opportunity to marshal his great ability and resources on behalf of the Jews. Elaborating a plan with the aid of his advisors of the Alliance, the Baron offered the Russian government fifty million francs for the establishment of elementary and agricultural schools in the Pale of Settlement. Not only would these schools afford the Jews means to improve their educational status but those securing this higher education would gradually be put under the existing laws on a basis of equality with Russian citizens. After a year of negotiations, it became clear that those in control of the Russian government were not anxious to break down the barriers separating the Jews from the rest of the Russian people. Reluctantly, the Baron withdrew his offer.

It was this experience which led him to conclude that emigration was the only solution if the Russian Jews were not to be abandoned to their fate. Establishment of order and method in their expatriation was the problem from now on.

> The government of the Czar [he wrote] means to get rid of the five million Jews who inhabit Russian territory. Let it allow the many who, like himself, are interested in the fate of these victims of persecution and who certainly will be prepared to make the greatest sacrifices on their behalf, to save them . . . Let a period of twenty years—let us say—be fixed; let it be agreed that every year a certain number of Jews will leave the country; but let them be left in peace until the hour of their departure arrives. If the Czar will order a measure of this character to be adopted, those who are interested in the fate of the Russian Jews will do what is necessary to provide funds for conveying to their

new country the number of emigrants ordered to leave yearly. By this means it will be possible to carry out, without any great hardship and with a minimum of suffering for those concerned, the principle of expulsion decided on by the Russian government.[3]

But transplantation of these Jewish masses was not all that Baron de Hirsch envisaged. Emigration, he hoped, would be the prelude to a physical and moral regeneration of the whole of Russian Jewry. With characteristic simplicity, the Baron laid down his final goal:

What I desire to accomplish, what, after many failures has come to be the object of my life, and that for which I am ready to stake my wealth and my intellectual powers, is to give to a portion of my companions in faith the possibility of finding a new existence, primarily as farmers and also as handicraftsmen, in those lands where the laws and religious tolerance permit them to carry on the struggle for existence as noble and responsible subjects of a humane government.[4]

On the matter of farming he was thoroughly convinced: "My own personal experience has led me to recognize that the Jews have very good ability in agriculture . . . I have seen this personally in the Jewish agricultural colonies of Turkey. My efforts shall show that the Jews have not lost the agricultural qualities that their forefathers possessed. I shall try to make for them a new home in different lands where, as free farmers on their own soil, they can make themselves useful to the country. If this should not come to pass among the present generation, the next will surely fulfill this expectation."[5]

Not all the Alliance leaders were in sympathy with this plan of wholesale emigration. Some thought it more advisable to demand of the government the right of Jews to remain in Russia, not as members of a lower caste but on a basis of equality with other Russian subjects. The Baron brushed their objections aside. A circular was addressed to the Jews in which he announced his resolution to help them to emigrate, counseling them to have patience while his plans were being worked out. Commissions of experts then began the search for countries favorable to the colonization of Russian Jews in large numbers.

The Argentine Republic was finally chosen as offering the most advantageous conditions for success—plenty of good land obtainable at reasonable cost; a sparse population; above all, a government without religious or racial prejudices, and willing to assist in the settlement of the right kind of immigrants.

The Jewish Colonization Association

Orderly mass-emigration, selection of the proper type of emigrants, their transportation to South America and other countries, the organization of administrative bodies to receive and settle them in their new homes—all this demanded the creation of a proper agency. Accordingly, in 1891, the Jewish Colonization Association (known under its abbreviation as the J.C.A.*) was founded under English law, as a limited liability company, capitalized at $10,000,000, all of which was contributed by Baron de Hirsch. Broadly stated, its objects were two-fold: the assistance and promotion of the emigration of Jews from any part of Europe and Asia, principally from countries in which they may be subjected to special taxes or political or other disabilities, and the formation of agricultural colonies in South and North America.

Apart from its work in Argentine and elsewhere, which cannot be treated here, an inestimable service was rendered by the J.C.A. through the concession it secured from the Russian government legalizing the departure of Jews from the country. Hitherto, emigration normally took the form of a stealthy flight over the borders, often accompanied by bribery, swindling, loss of personal effects and even physical danger. The new arrangement enabled bureaus of information to be set up which gave advice as to destinations, the safest routes, etc., and to furnish legal passports to emigrants.[6] One of the "crimes" of which Jews had been guilty in Russia was now obliterated.

Genesis of the Fund

Apparently the first one to suggest that Baron de Hirsch might include the Russian-Jewish immigrants in the United States among his beneficiaries was Oscar S. Straus. He advised Michael Heilprin that a statement of his experiences and his conclusions as to the manner in which the immigrant Jews may best be aided would be opportune. No one was better fitted to point out the errors of the past and to lay out a practical program of help. Mr. Heilprin's letter to Mr. Straus is a noble document.† It showed that his faith in the Russian Jew was unshaken. In spite of the disastrous results of his labors, he still pointed to agriculture as the way of salvation. This man of letters, regarded by many as a highly impractical person, revealed in his keen and realistic analysis an almost prophetic understanding of the manifold difficulties to be faced in

* This abbreviation will be employed in the following pages.
† The letter is given in full in Pollak's Michael Heilprin and His Sons, pp. 214-20. Compare Straus' Under Four Administrations, pp. 95-6.

the readjustment of the immigrants to their new environment. The kernel of his recommendations lay in his final conclusion:

> If we could imagine a small homogeneous committee of perfectly responsible, well-intentioned, and energetic men to be formed for a lengthy period of time, and supplied with ample means of carrying out, by successive attempts, the best enterprises that would suggest themselves for the lasting benefit of Jewish immigrants in this country—with due regard for the interests of the country itself, and particularly also of its general Jewish population—the conclusion would be natural that such a body ought not be hampered by regulations and schemes in advance, and that its own experience and the wisdom it would teach ought to be its only guides.

The First Call to Action

In May, 1889, a number of American Jews active in communal affairs, were asked by Isidore Loeb, the secretary of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, to confer upon the disposition of a fund which Baron de Hirsch was planning to set up for the benefit of Russian and Roumanian immigrants in the United States. It was suggested that the committee to administer this fund, the annual income of which was estimated to be from $100,000 to $120,000, should consist of persons experienced in charitable matters. Among those who were thus apprised of the Baron's intentions were Judge Myer S. Isaacs, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Dr. Julius Goldman, Adolphus S. Solomons, of New York, and Moses A. Dropsie, of Philadelphia, the latter as representative of the smaller communities.

Judge Isaacs took the initiative in calling a conference in New York, which was attended by the following leaders of the Jewish community: Jacob H. Schiff, Jesse Seligman, Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Leonard Lewisohn, Adolphus S. Solomons, Myer S. Isaacs, I. S. Isaacs and Morris Tuska. Tentative plans were drawn up which included the provision of relief to new arrivals, elementary education for children and adults, and a colonization project, for which a capital sum was to be laid aside.

Objection to these plans came from Mr. Dropsie, Mr. Hackenburg, Dr. Aaron Friedenwald and other leaders of the communities of Philadelphia and Baltimore, who believed the plan of an agricultural colony particularly unwise, in view of their special knowledge of the South Jersey experiments.* They felt so strongly on

* Another matter about which Mr. Dropsie, who led the attack on the plans, felt very strongly was the neglect of the smaller communities in the scheme of control. For a brief but excellent statement, see Dr. Cyrus Adler: Lectures, Selected Papers and Addresses. Philadelphia 1933, pp. 53-4.

this and other phases of the proposed course of action that they independently sent a carefully prepared memorandum to the Baron which received his strong approval. Exclusively Jewish colonies, he wrote Judge Isaacs, would prevent Jewish workmen, farmers and merchants from desirable contacts with those of other religious faiths. However, lands should be acquired on which immigrant families could settle in order to follow agricultural and industrial pursuits. He was therefore willing to set aside a capital sum of $240,000 for this purpose, reducing thereby his remaining subvention from $10,000 to $9,000 monthly.

The two groups were asked by him to unite upon a common plan of action, it being assumed that leadership in the venture would belong to New York, because of its greater burdens. His representations prevailed. Final agreement was reached at a meeting held on July 29, 1889, at which these were present:

New York		*Philadelphia*
Myer S. Isaacs	Julius Goldman	Moses A. Dropsie
Jacob H. Schiff	A. S. Solomons	William Hackenburg
James H. Hoffman	Emanuel Lehman	Simon Muhr
Jesse Seligman	Leonard Lewisohn	Mayer Sulzberger
Henry Rice	I. S. Isaacs	

Preliminary Plans

At these deliberations, the basis of most of the activities of the Baron de Hirsch Fund was laid. A distinction was drawn between temporary relief and the creation of institutions of a relatively permanent character. Immediate aid was imperative for recent immigrants or those arriving. This might assume a variety of forms: shelter, transportation to points in the interior where work could be found, training in some easily learned trade, or assistance to artisans with tools and implements without which they could not get employment. For those whose longer stay in the country had proved their ability to take care of themselves, help of a more permanent character was planned. Trade and technical training, the teaching of English and the establishment of farm colonies were among the measures considered. Charity as such was to be eliminated; only those who could be made self-supporting were to be given help. As to this, Baron de Hirsch had clear-cut ideas with which the Americans were in complete accord.

"I contend most decidedly against the old system of almsgiving," he wrote, "which only makes so many more beggars; and I consider it the greatest problem in philanthropy to make human beings who are capable of work out of individuals who otherwise

must become paupers, and in this way create useful members of society."

The Philadelphia and Baltimore members of the conference were won over to the idea that colonization should be attempted in a modest fashion. A plan was tentatively outlined for the purchase of enough land to meet the needs of about fifty families. This was not to be a purely agricultural colony. It was to be located near New York City, so that members of the family could earn part of their living by work in the city. All the conveniences of a distinct community, however, were to be created, such as a factory, schoolhouse, etc. Each family was to be allotted one acre, for which they were to pay rent, as well as for the house that was to be built on the land. Thus the enterprise would be self-supporting, the foundation receiving about four to five percent on its investment. Should this venture succeed, similar undertakings were to follow in the neighborhood of Philadelphia and other cities.

In case the capital set aside for the colonization plan were not exhausted, farmers were to be extended moderate loans at low rates of interest. This form of assistance, however, was regarded as of doubtful utility and as possibly endangering the capital sum which was to be devoted to the promotion of agriculture.

All of these plans Baron de Hirsch accepted, in the main, and suggested that they draft by-laws in accordance with their memorandum, constitute themselves a Central Committee and appoint the Trustees. Upon legal incorporation, the monthly subvention and the capital sum of $240,000 would be sent to them.

Relief or Permanent Aids

Two questions which the Baron raised, however, became stumbling blocks to immediate organization. First, he objected to the small proportion of the income to be devoted to the new arrivals. "It is my intention," he wrote, "to afford a fresh class of unfortunates the means of beginning a new life in your part of the world. It is the very poorest of our brethren which I wish to benefit and there cannot be any doubt that the misery of the Jews in both Russia and Roumania is the most cruel, as they cannot fight for their existence under the hard special laws in those countries while in other parts of Europe they are not so hardly oppressed." The second obstacle was the Baron's desire to make the monthly payments withdrawable at will, to end the arrangement at any time that it seemed advisable to him.

For the American Committee these two points raised issues of such gravity that for a time they seemed insurmountable. Judge

Isaacs, who conducted the negotiations for his confreres, pointed out that were the major part of the income to be devoted to relief, it would tend to attract a larger and lower class of immigrants to the United States. The impression might spread that American Jews were engaged in stimulating immigration to the United States through undue assistance. Various consequences were feared. Primarily, a huge, disorderly and unregulated influx of poverty-stricken Jews would throw upon the relatively small Jewish communities in this country an enormous burden. The effect upon the American people, if such help to immigrants were offered, was likewise a matter of deep concern.

There was justification for this position, however unfeeling it may have appeared. We must remember that agitation against unrestricted immigration to this country was beginning to replace the quondam generous welcome. Apprehension that an undue burden would be placed upon the charitable institutions of the land had led to the enactment of the first general immigration law which included the provision that among persons to be excluded were those likely to become public charges. Labor was also becoming antagonistic toward immigration, although its energies were then mainly concentrated on the prevention of contract labor importation. How accurately the Jewish leaders sensed this antagonistic attitude is revealed by the inclusion, a year later, of a provision in the immigration law listing among inadmissible persons those whose passage had been paid by others than relatives or friends, and throwing the burden of proof to establish admissibility on those aided by others to come over.

The American Jews, however, had only the barest inkling of the tremendous difficulties with which the European committees were grappling. The situation at the end of the Eighties, strange and sad to say, is being rehearsed in almost identical form in our own day. We need only substitute the German-Jewish refugees of today for the Russian Jews. The description of a participant in a recent international conference for the relief of German Jewry amazingly reflects the conditions and feelings of a generation ago. "It was only through personal contact with the delegates," Dr. Rubinow wrote, "that one received a vivid impression of the enormous dimensions which the problems of the refugees have already reached. We in the States may read about them and discuss them, but we do not live them as every Jewish community in Europe is living them by personal contact with refugees and by enforced activity on their behalf. In all these countries problems both of temporary emergency and of more permanent economic adjustment have

already arisen. Legal problems of right of entry, right of transit, and particularly right of sojourn have been raised, and perhaps the most important problem of all—the right to engage in remunerative employment. Social attitudes of the native population must be taken into consideration. The danger of direct stimulation of anti-Jewish sentiments cannot be disregarded. The feelings of sympathy for refugees may eventually yield to the natural fear of economic competitors. The strain upon local Jewish communities is keenly felt. This may result in producing a dangerous class of immigrants or transients, and also introduce an unhappy element of strife between Jewries of different countries."[7]

Faced with even larger numbers of refugees over forty years ago, in a far worse economic plight, Baron de Hirsch refused to budge from his position, and even played with the thought of forming a central committee in Europe to fulfill his objectives and to direct selected emigrants to sub-committees in New York, Canada and the Argentine. At length, he appointed a committee from the Alliance headed by Dr. S. H. Goldschmidt, its president, which included Salomon Reinach, Narcisse Leven and Isidore Loeb, to conduct the negotiations with the American conference. The discussions continued without abatement. The Europeans held that the purposes for which the Fund was being created would be defeated if the largest part of its income would be used for those who had been in this country at least two years, since these individuals could manage to get along fairly well without the aid of the Fund. On this side, they were supported by the president of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, who in a plea to Loeb for further help, pointed to the overburdening of the relief agencies on account of the concentration of the Russian-Jewish newcomers in New York City. A compromise was finally reached, in which it was agreed to allow two-fifths (instead of one-fourth) of the income of the proposed Fund to be applied for the relief of newly arrived immigrants on the ground that these might be legitimately classed as refugees from persecution.

The Central Committee Is Formed

Precious time was being lost. In February, 1890, Baron de Hirsch wrote that he was eager to relieve the situation in New York and would send a monthly allowance of $10,000 beginning in March if the American group consented to become the Central Committee. This monthly allowance would continue until a final agreement had been reached.

With the thought that there should be no artificial stimulation

of immigration through the establishment of the Fund, the Baron was in complete accord. "We are so thoroughly convinced of the justice of this recommendation," he declared, "that we have pledged one another to do everything to prevent emigration of the numerous persons who are applying to us for that purpose. . . . We are not only observing the most careful restraint in this direction but we have also made constant efforts to induce the European press to keep silent with respect to my philanthropic intentions towards America."

The Baron's proposal was accepted. On March 13, 1890, the formal meeting of organization took place. Nine men were chosen as the Central Committee* and as Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. These were: Dr. Julius Goldman, James H. Hoffman, Henry Rice, Myers S. Isaacs, Jacob H. Schiff, Jesse Seligman, Oscar S. Straus, all of New York, and William B. Hackenburg and Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia. Judge Isaacs was elected President, Jesse Seligman Treasurer and Dr. Goldman Honorary Secretary. Adolphus S. Solomons was selected as Superintendent.† A provisional plan of organization was adopted the following month.‡

Should the Fund Be Dissoluble at the Will of Its Founder?

Meanwhile, lively discussion on the question of the permanence of the Fund went on for months. The Baron explained to Oscar S. Straus, who had his complete confidence, that it was his principle to observe a new plan in its origin and development in order to convince himself of its ability to exist and to be conducted soundly, before it should assume a definite character. However, he conceded that the endowment would remain in operation with unlimited means for two years before it would go out of existence. The difficulties involved in a provisional trust were forcefully set forth by the Central Committee. It would be impossible, they argued, to create permanent institutions; only temporary relief could be offered. Inducements to the immigrants to leave crowded cities, determined efforts for the permanent improvement of the rising generation, attracting immigrants to mechanical occupations, encouraging them to engage in agriculture—objectives as far-reach-

* The name of the Central Committee was later changed to the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

† The title was changed later to General Agent.

‡ Inadvertently no mention was made that the Roumanian Jews were to be beneficiaries of the trust. This was called to the attention of the Baron by Judge Isaacs and rectified. It was not intended at that time that the Galician Jews were to participate in the benefits of the fund, the Baron explained, as he had placed the sum of twelve million francs for the establishment of a foundation at the disposal of an Austrian committee.

ing as these could not be suddenly attained nor even partially accomplished in only two or three years. Discontinuance of the trust would bring ruin and denunciation.

Happily, disregarding the advice of his Committee in Europe to make a three years' trial of the undertaking, Baron de Hirsch, following a conference with Jacob H. Schiff in the summer of 1890, agreed to make the trust permanent.

The Deed of Trust

With the conflicting issues out of the way, the provisional Deed of Trust could now be completed. Of special interest was the question as to the disposition of the capital in the event that emigration from Russia or Roumania should be greatly reduced or cease entirely. Mr. Schiff declared that generations would pass before the needs that were to be met by the Fund would disappear. It was a natural feeling. The Russian outlook was as gloomy and thick with foreboding as that of the Jews in Germany in our day.

It is then all the more surprising to note the clarity of vision on the part of Baron de Hirsch. In the sixth provision, he stated that "It is my desire that in the event of the cessation or substantial reduction of emigration from Russia, the Trustees . . . shall in their discretion take the necessary legal steps . . . for the application of such purposes and objects . . . as shall in their judgment be maintainable, and in addition, such other and further modes of relief and such other and further contributions to education for the benefit of the children of emigrants and for the support of widows and orphans of emigrants and for the extension of the benefits contemplated by this Trust to other Hebrew emigrants besides Russians and Roumanians as the said Trustees or their successors shall decide."

Similarly, in a later clause, the Trustees were authorized to encroach upon the capital, under certain limitations, not to exceed ten percent per annum, after a period of ten years had elapsed, whenever they deemed it expedient.

This was admirable far-sightedness, when one considers that the period in which this trust was created may be described as the pre-foundation age. There were few philanthropies of this magnitude in the Nineties, and many of the later foundations created bound the directors so firmly as to nullify in the main the generally good purposes for which the donations were made. It was this situation that Mr. Frederic P. Keppel, the Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation, had in mind when he wrote:

> The donor is, of course, a man with a personality, and this personality must be reckoned with. Sometimes he tries to carry over too completely into his trust the policies he has found to work successfully in a business career. He has sometimes in his mind a beautiful picture of what he would like to accomplish, and proceeds to paint this picture in too great detail upon his deed of gift. He does not foresee the inevitable division of responsibility between the dead hand, which will soon be all that remains of him, and the living minds of trustees to come. It is unnecessary, as it would be ungracious, to cite examples of men who had the brains to make great fortunes, but who proved incompetent to distribute them wisely.[8]

It is significant that Mr. Julius Rosenwald, who became a leading exponent of this principle years later, was influenced on these points as a Trustee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

The revised Deed of Trust* was sent, in January, 1891, to the Baron. He wrote to the Central Committee: "This document is in perfect harmony with my ideas." The Trustees were notified that he would continue to send $10,000 monthly until March 1891, when the capital of the Fund would be made available.

Relations Established with the J.C.A.

With the formation of the Jewish Colonization Association, shortly thereafter, the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund were asked to participate in its direction and to accept shares of its stock. This proposal was regarded with quite some misgivings. At the time it was not clear whether the organization would include in its program the settlement of immigrants within the United States. The Trustees were of the opinion that it remained to be demonstrated on a large scale that the immigrants would be content with agricultural life. Moreover, they felt disinclined to accept responsibility for the general work of distributing Jews from Russia and Roumania to other parts of the world. Europe, forty years ago, was further than it is today; travel and close contacts were infrequent; and it was feared that responsible control by the American representatives would be impossible. Similarly, individual Trustees, like Jacob H. Schiff, declined to accept shares of stock in the J.C.A. The decision was finally made that instead of the allotment of certain shares, the Baron de Hirsch Fund was to receive a portion of the income of the Jewish Colonization Association.

Objects of the Fund

The objects of the Baron de Hirsch Fund were stated in the Deed of Trust as follows:

* The Deed of Trust is given in full in the Appendix, pp. 278-282.

1. Loans to immigrants from Russia and Roumania, actual agriculturists, settlers within the United States, on real or chattel security.
2. Transportation of immigrants (after arriving at an American port) to places where they may find work and make themselves self-supporting.
3. To teach immigrants trades and contribute to their support while learning such trades, and furnishing them necessary tools to enable them to earn a living.
4. Improved mechanical training for adults and youths.
5. Instruction in the English language and the duties of American citizenship; technical and trade education; establishment of special schools and workshops.
6. Instruction in agricultural work and improved methods of farming.
7. Cooperation with established agencies in the United States for the purpose of relief and education.
8. Other methods of relief and education which the Trustees may, from time to time, decide.

The news of the benefaction of Baron de Hirsch was received in the United States with lively interest and accorded a generous reception. Intolerance and prejudice had not taken deep root in our land, as the editorial of a leading Christian religious journal of the Nineties evidenced:

"There will be no encouragement from this Fund for idlers, nor will the helpless and incapable be transferred. We would have no apology for this immigration. We would not have our Jewish friends feel that such immigrants, however humble, were unwelcome. We will find room for them, work for them, ballots for them. They will add to our strength, to our material, and in the end, to our moral forces. We will assimilate them to some extent by our language and by our civilization. We thank God for the opportunity to afford a refuge for the oppressed and we will a little longer, and as far as we can, boast that we welcome the stranger; we have the faith to believe that his labors enrich us; that his ignorance can be instructed, and that time will teach him our civilization; our doors stand open, and, please God, shall stand open inviting every Jew in Russia to our shores. We welcome them; we are grieved at their sufferings; we offer them our liberties and our opportunities."

CHAPTER II

EXPERIMENTAL BEGINNINGS

An unexplored, uncharted land loomed up before the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund when they began to lay the groundwork of their self-imposed tasks nearly half a century ago. The great urban and industrial community, as we know it today, was then beginning its growth. Only dimly grasped were the complex problems of city life, such as poverty, congestion, vice and crime, and, least of all, the incorporation of immigrant groups into American ways of life. The settlement worker, the social worker, the practical sociologist, the communal organizer—all were yet to arrive. Probably the finest interpreter of the East Side to the outside world, Lillian D. Wald, who was to inaugurate her pioneer venture of nursing among the poor a few years later, wittily remarked in a recent address reviewing this period: "People of today, I am sure, will be shocked to hear that we made no scientific approach to our problems. We did no research work, nor did we 'survey' the field. We just went right ahead, and everybody knows that's the wrong way to do things." There was no choice really but to go right ahead, for experience and knowledge were completely lacking. The Trustees early recognized the experimental nature of their efforts to provide for the economic and social needs of a large, foreign, and, to them relatively unknown group. "Experience will doubtless show us many errors," declared Judge Isaacs. "We shall from time to time have to change our purposes, views and plans." It is not surprising then that the initial steps give ample evidence of doubts, gropings, conflicting attitudes and opinions as to the best courses to pursue.

The main avenues of effort resolved themselves into five divisions; relief to needy immigrants, education in English and citizenship, training in trades and vocations, including agriculture, agricultural colonization, and the improvement of housing conditions in the congested immigrant sections of the city.

Organization now went on rapidly. Following the adoption of a plan of permanent organization, committees were appointed to deal with the problems of education, which included industrial

and agricultural training and general education, relief, agricultural and industrial settlements, and homes. The general principle was adopted that no new agencies were to be created if existing ones could meet the needs. The Philadelphia members of the Fund assumed charge of its work in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Relief was limited to immigrants who were in the country not longer than six months, except in extreme cases. The other activities were to concern themselves with immigrants here not over two years, except in the matter of education, which it was seen advisable to extend to all immigrants and their children, regardless of their length of stay.

The following committees were appointed:

Committee on Relief, Transportation and Employment, Henry Rice, Chairman, Dr. Julius Goldman, and Oscar S. Straus.

Committee on General Education, Oscar S. Straus, Chairman, James H. Hoffman and Mayer Sulzberger.

Committee on Agricultural and Industrial Settlements, James H. Hoffman, Chairman, Jacob H. Schiff and Dr. Julius Goldman.

Committee on Homes, Jesse Seligman, Chairman and W. B. Hackenburg.

Relief

The most pressing concern was immediate aid for the many who were daily pouring into the country. In New York City, the United Hebrew Charities, now the Jewish Social Service Association, was designated as the sole medium for dispensing relief. The selection of this organization was natural, yet unfortunate in the one respect that it created an atmosphere of charity about work that dealt with the needs of a group impoverished through persecution and suffering mainly from conditions incidental to their readjustment to a new land.

It is interesting to note that the experience of the United Hebrew Charities with immigrants dated back to its beginnings in 1874, as a union of five charitable societies. One of its first standing committees was on emigration, whose function was to assist individuals and families to leave New York for "more promising fields of residence", and to return immigrants who desired their help to European ports.

The attitude of its directors toward the new influx may be described as indecisive. Complaints were rife that their coming in such large numbers put a serious drain upon the limited resources of the Society as well as upon all Jewish charitable institutions. With the passing of the "public charge" law of 1882, the society had sent a circular letter to the leading Jewish organizations in Europe and the Jewish press protesting against the reckless forwarding of immigrants who could not fail, in its opinion, to become applicants for charity. At the same time, it indicated its willingness to do its part by asking the European committees to forward full details about families they were sending, so that they could properly be cared for.

Despite this attitude, the United Hebrew Charities had been the chief organization in the Eighties to deal with the problems of the immigrants when the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society dissolved and turned over to it the balance in its treasury of about $10,000. To help the immigrants at Castle Garden the society stationed an agent, whose advice both to the newcomers and the immigration officials proved of great service. Its leaders thought in terms of constructive policy at a time when progressive standards in charitable institutions were in embryo. As far back as 1880, an industrial school for girls had been started. In 1884 the Hebrew Technical Institute was founded, with Dr. Henry M. Leipziger as its superintendent. The most promising effort of the society, in the later years, was the transportation to industrial centers outside of New York of individuals and groups of immigrants, carefully selected men with a knowledge of trades such as carpentry and tailoring to places where work had been found for them. These promising beginnings in industrial dispersion justified the creation of an immigrant employment bureau under the direction of Arthur Reichow, who had been responsible for the success of this experiment.[1]

With an appropriation of $2500 monthly from the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the United Hebrew Charities instituted a wider program along these lines. Supervision of this work was in the hands of the Committee on General Relief of the Fund, which had originally been named, in the detailed descriptive manner of that day, the Committee on Transportation, Employment, Tools and Training the Immigrants in Some Easily Acquired Trades. Industrial classes in trades chiefly of the needle variety were established, and a wide canvass of suitable trades begun, through which immigrants could become quickly self-supporting. Tools were supplied to mechanics to enable them to get work. Opportunities for employment in other parts of the country, or in towns near the large cities of the East, were vigorously sought. Industrial settlements were organized in nearby towns, where manufacturers, chiefly in the garment lines, undertook the training of heads of families, in return for loans from the Fund. One such enterprise, located at Union Hill, New Jersey, was typical. In this case, a contractor-

manufacturer of shirts was willing to undertake the instruction of immigrants in this trade. It was calculated that the operatives, who were to receive $3.00 a week to start, would increase their earning capacity, a month later, to from $5.00 to $8.00 a week. This warranted the purchase of fifty machines for the contractor, which, however, remained the property of the Fund. Numbers of families were thus removed to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and numerous factory hands to manufacturers of textile fabrics in the eastern states generally. It looked hopeful indeed when, by the end of the first year, the Employment Bureau was able to report that nearly 5000 immigrants had been satisfactorily placed in remunerative labor.

In other cities, similar relief endeavors were being pushed. The Philadelphia members of the Fund made arrangements with the auxiliary branch of the local charities to provide for the incoming immigrants with the aid of a monthly appropriation of $1000. In Baltimore, a committee was appointed consisting of Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, Dr. Cyrus Adler and Elias Rohr to supervise similar work. Later, in Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh and St. Louis, committees designated by the Fund received appropriations toward assisting arriving immigrants. Generally, this local aid paralleled in most respects the lines of attack favored by the main committee in New York.

Exploration

On the question of temporary support and relief, or placing the immigrants on a basis of economic self-maintenance as soon as possible, there were no two minds. It was imperative, however, that the status of the Jewish arrivals should be permanently improved. Toward this end the foundations were meanwhile being laid by the various committees. Exploration of needs and possibilities was under way. Who were these newcomers? What were their occupations? How many of them were in the city? Where and how did they live? What of their children? How many of these were working or attending school? Accordingly, the Fund undertook a census of Jews in New York City. In August, 1890, the Seventh, Tenth and Thirteenth Wards, which contained the greater portion of the Jewish immigrant population, numbering over 110,000 persons, were surveyed. The information secured ranged from the number of persons speaking English, or naturalized, to the amount of income per family, how much of it was contributed by various members of the family, boarders and lodgers, and the number of rooms occupied by each family. It was not

a scientific survey, as modern standards go, but it was helpful in replacing surmise by fact and pointing to specific needs of this population.

Most surprising were the facts revealed that the typical Russian-Jewish family had nearly five members, and that over half of this group were children under fourteen. There was much to create concern. Economic conditions were deplorable; low wages, overcrowded rooms, particularly because of the necessity of eking out a living through boarders and lodgers. Moreover, English was spoken by about 15,000 of the more than 50,000 adults enumerated. Only one-third of the heads of families were naturalized. Nevertheless, the normal family grouping of these immigrants so closely approximated the average American family and the health of the newcomers was in favorable contrast to that of other immigrant groups and even of the native population that alarmist concerns about the new element were checked. Jacob A. Riis reported the Fund census and even drew comfort from it pointing out that "The evidence is, after all, that even here, with the tremendous inpour of a destitute, ignorant people, and with the undoubted employment of child labor on a large scale, the cause of progress along the safe line is holding its own."[2]

Industrial Training

What could be done to train the Jewish youth and adult along industrial lines, so that their lot would be improved? There were few indeed who could qualify as experts on problems of this sort in the Nineties. Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, as a member of a sub-committee engaged in outlining a program, addressed himself to the question of improving the economic conditions of the immigrants through education and training.

His illuminating review of the situation bears quotation:

> It is a notorious fact that the immigrants are in such a condition of comparative industrial ignorance that the great majority are swept sooner or later into the clothing or tobacco trades. The knowledge required for pressing or finishing clothes or for rolling cigars is so slight that the vocations lie on the very border line of skilled industries, if indeed they deserve to be classed there at all. Above all, the existence of the sweating system in the clothing trade, and of the tenement house manufacture in the tobacco trade renders the economic condition of these workmen, on the whole, inferior even to that of the purely unskilled laborers, like the street cleaner, car driver, porter, etc. These workmen are to all intents and purposes unskilled laborers. They form the great majority of those, both male and female, who eke out a bare subsistence by inordinately long hours of work at inadequate pay, huddled together amid filth and foul air, necessarily shut out from the joys of life, and begetting a progeny

which if exposed to the same influences, must necessarily develop only the baser instincts of mankind.

What is needed for this unfortunate horde of unskilled immigrants is opportunity. And this opportunity can be acquired only by such an education as will enable them to escape the necessity of being driven into these soul-destroying vocations. What is needed is industrial training for adults on a vast scale. [He advocated the construction of model tenement houses, instruction in the language, history and politics of our country, and the amalgamation of the immigrant industrially with the American workmen.] The American workman has a distrust of the private industrial school—a distrust partly justified by the frequency with which in past times, graduates of certain technical schools have been used to fill the places of strikers. The American workman, like all workmen, again is apt to look with disfavor upon any movement which tends to increase the number of his competitors. It has been a time-honored although shortsighted custom of the Trades Unions to attempt to restrict the number of apprentices. Finally, the American workman would be apt to regard with peculiar disfavor any endeavor to start a purely sectarian trade school. There is danger of arraying sect against sect. Already now we hear mutterings among the workmen of certain occupations "spoiled by the Jews." There is danger of increasing this incipient feeling. Every nerve must be strained to check the growth among the workmen of race prejudice, for that would mark the beginning of the end, of the commencement of a serious concerted action against the Jews, of which the present social ostracism in the higher classes is but the faintest premonition.

It will be absolutely necessary therefore to silence all opposition by taking in the leaders of the Trades Unions as partners in the project. Could the consent of Baron de Hirsch be obtained to remove the sectarian limitation, and to admit all classes to its benefits, the theme could far more easily be carried out. Although this is beyond the scope of the Committee's actions as the Deed of Trust now stands, yet, judging from Baron de Hirsch's well known sentiments and actions as expressed in the gifts which he offered to Russia, it is an open question whether he would not agree to this, especially if it be pointed out what the danger is.

Even, however, without the removal of this sectarian limitation, it is probable that the American labor leaders would be induced to consent to interest themselves in the plan. From the few informal conversations that the subcommittee has had with the labor leaders, it may be inferred that they can be led to see the importance of having educated rather than ignorant members of their Unions. But to inaugurate the plan without their co-operation, would be worse than useless.

Concretely, Professor Seligman proposed several parallel undertakings, that there be organized a technical institute for adults, machinery for distributing the graduates, and a system of cooperative societies of production for the unskilled workmen. This analysis, and its note of optimism, was indeed, encouraging, even though some of the suggestions seem in retrospect of a somewhat sweeping nature.

Various methods of training were considered. Should immigrants be apprenticed in shops and their learning paid for? Should arrangements be made with industrial and trade schools for the admission of newly arrived immigrants, the expense of their education to be borne by the Fund? Provision could be made for instruction in certain trades or industries already organized, or in new industries to be organized. Finally, the Trustees of the Fund could establish a special trade school for immigrants.

The first steps were tentative indeed. Arrangements were made with the Hebrew Technical Institute for the opening of classes in wood-turning and metal work during the summer of 1890. For this purpose, the Fund appropriated $3,000. Immigrants of all ages eagerly availed themselves of this chance to learn a new trade and to become handy men in shops. To them everything was new. They knew no English; the names of the tools, their mode of use and the processes of work had to be taught the immigrants at the same time. So impoverished were these learners, that it was necessary to give the men a cup of coffee or tea and a piece of bread and cheese before beginning their studies, and to advance them carfare.

Members of the Central Committee closely observed the venture. Judge Isaacs remarked: "A strange and delightful spectacle greets the visitor to the rooms of the Technical Institute any evening except on the Sabbath and Sunday. About seventy men ranging in age from early manhood—some are still in their teens—to mature years, are quietly and industriously learning the use of tools, acquiring the knowledge of a handicraft. Among the occupations which are most popular with these hopeful exiles are wood-turning and wire-working, because within a few weeks, they are accustomed to the lathe and the processes incidental to these trades. Ordinary joinery and chipping and filing are pursued with patience and fidelity, and already there are indications that some of the pupils are about to abandon their daily vocations as Melamdim (Hebrew teachers) or peddlers for the position of a mechanic to which they aspire."

With the summer classes of 1890 successful, an enlarged program resulted the following winter. Difficulties developed, as Professor Seligman had foreseen, when the labor unions began to fear the competition of men and goods, inasmuch as articles made in these shops were sold in the open market. As the New York Herald pointed out, "There is very good ground for the prejudice against trade schools prevailing among trade unionists, for they have undoubtedly been a powerful factor in reducing the standard of wages in many of the trades, as well as proving an obstacle to the shortening of the hours of labor, while their appearance in strikes and lockouts has caused the defeat of union men in many a hard con-

tested struggle for living wages. This latter fact has won for them the name of 'scab schools' in labor circles."[3] The difficulties were smoothed over, however, with the aid of Dr. Goldman and Professor Seligman.

The determination of the Trustees to inaugurate a trade school was strengthened. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on April 27, 1891, a special committee, consisting of Mr. James H. Hoffman as chairman and Messrs. James Goldsmith, A. S. Solomons, Benjamin Hoffman and Dr. Otto Moses, was appointed to prepare plans for a "Trade and Industrial School." As the Hebrew Technical Institute was planning to erect a new building with the aid of the Fund at 225-27 East Ninth Street, it was decided to cooperate by leasing three floors, the basement of 34 Stuyvesant Street and the Assembly Room, to house the trade school of the Fund. A lease of five years was made beginning February 8, 1893, at a rental of $3,000. Day and evening classes were organized in the spring of 1892.

The new building was opened early in 1893; the expenses for the outfitting of the three floors occupied by the Baron de Hirsch Trade School, as well as the cost of instruction, were borne by the Fund. Mr. B. B. Hoffman was superintendent. There were sixty-two pupils in the day, and eighty-two in the evening classes, a total of 144 in all. The courses given had greatly expanded, including carpentry, joinery and wood-carving; sign and house painting; artistic metal working; machinist and mechanical drawing—a quite impressive number of trades.

The evening course was for a period of nine months, of two terms of four and a half months each. There seemed no question that the evening school was performing a needed work, for many of its students received remunerative employment as soon as they left. But the future of the day school remained uncertain. Would parents be found willing to forego the earnings of their children so sorely needed at home for the ultimate benefits derived from instruction? How were the pupils to support themselves? The Committee on Education considered two alternatives: to pay each student for the work done or to sell the product of his labor and turn the sum received over to him. The first solution was adopted. In view of the lack of means of those enrolled, a system of boarding pupils was deemed necessary. But in order to avoid the stigma of charity, students receiving this help were to return to the Fund the expense of their board and lodging, upon securing work, at the rate of $2 per week.

A period of expansion followed the appointment of Colonel J. E. Bloom in April, 1893, in place of Mr. Hoffman, who had resigned on account of illness. Colonel Bloom was an army officer without technical training but possessed of an energetic disposition and an eagerness to be of service. Within a month after his appointment he laid out a program of increased courses and distributed thousands of circulars and placards on the East Side promising help to the students, and positions for those who completed the courses. Such publicity had never before been attempted. The results were natural. Applicants poured in. By the beginning of June there were enrolled over three hundred students in the day classes and in the evening nearly five hundred. This was a six-fold increase over the preceding year. Two courses were added—fresco painting and electro-plating. More were promised.

It was not surprising that the unexpectedly large registration involved Colonel Bloom in difficulties. The chief trouble came from the system of boarding pupils, which was undertaken as a matter of school responsibility. Students came and went; dissatisfaction with the board they received was pronounced. Some finished their courses but continued boarding at the expense of the school on the ground that they had been promised positions and would remain until these were forthcoming. Complaints of the students, particularly with regard to the boarding conditions, were finally aired in the Yiddish press in the fall of the year.

English Classes

Of hardly less significance than industrial training, in the opinion of the Trustees, was the speedy acquisition by both adults and children of the language of their adopted country. This was merely a first step in the development of a wide-flung program of education and related activities which in later years came to be known as "Americanization".

The available facilities were quickly examined by a sub-committee headed by Oscar S. Straus, and including Jacob H. Schiff, Professor Seligman, Samuel Greenbaum, and Herman Rosenthal, the latter a member of the Russian-Jewish community. An investigation as to the extent of the Hebrew religious schools, or "*chedorim*", on the East Side, showed the existence of several hundred of these schools, in which over 3000 immigrant children were being taught. The ready assimilation of the children, the committee felt, depended upon the rapid elimination of these schools and the swift absorption of their pupils into the public schools of the city. The latter, unfortunately, were found to be in a deplorable state of overcrowding, because of the enormous increase of population

on the East Side. As the public schools accepted only those who could speak English, many of the immigrant children were refused admission, or were forced to enter beginners' classes. This created additional difficulties for the teachers as well as for these children on account of the age differences in these classes. Adult immigrants were even worse off. There were indeed public evening schools for adults, but they were not prepared to meet the special needs of the non-English speaking population. There were no day schools for immigrant adults nor were any of the Jewish institutions fitted to cope with this need, as discussions with the director of the Young Men's Hebrew Association developed.

The following course of action was laid down by the Committee:

1. Day and evening classes were to be established for boys and girls ten years of age and over. These children were to be taught enough of the rudiments of English to enable them to enter the public schools and to be enrolled in classes with pupils of their own age. This rapid process of preparation, it was believed, could be completed within a period of six months.

2. Evening classes for adult males were to be established, as well as day classes for the instruction of adults attending the manual training courses in the Hebrew Technical Institute.

Agricultural Beginnings

From the first meeting of the Central Committee its interest was drawn to the problem of fostering and stimulating the growth of farming among the immigrant Jews. Some of the Trustees held the view that in the creation of Jewish farmers, particularly through the organization of agricultural settlements, was to be found the solution of most of the problems of the new immigrants and those faced by the Baron de Hirsch Fund in the readjustment of this group to American conditions.

Plans were under discussion. It was decided that settlements—it was expected that more than one would be begun—should be both agricultural and industrial. These were to be in the neighborhood of some city, and if possible, in an industrial district. No person was to be invited to become a settler unless he had some means of his own which he was prepared to invest in land. It was thought that settlements of from thirty to fifty families were most likely to be successful. Loans were to be extended the settlers to enable them to pay for the land, to erect buildings and to buy equipment.

While a search for suitable sites was in progress, new colonies were springing up independently in other parts of the country.

Practically all of these at one time or other turned to the Fund for financial support. Among these were the Painted Woods colony in Minnesota, the Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Bad Axe in Michigan, the Lamberton in Minnesota, and the Atwood in Colorado. All were investigated by the Fund, granted loans from time to time, on condition that some person of ability or responsibility in the vicinity keep the Fund informed as to the conditions of the colony. Few of these survived.

The fate of Palestine, one of these colonies, situated at Bad Axe, Michigan, was characteristic. It was begun in the spring of 1891 by a group of Russian Jews living in Bay City, Michigan. All were peddlers, and with one exception had come to this country four years previously. Several hundred acres were bought, shacks built and the land cleared. The winter brought suffering, but also help from a prominent Jewish merchant of Detroit, Martin Butzel. He raised a local fund for their support, and appealed to the Baron de Hirsch Fund for further aid. The Fund responded with an appropriation of $3,000, which was turned over to Butzel as trustee. He wrote encouragingly to the Trustees:

> These people, both men and women, . . . through industry, early and late, in all kinds of weather, seem to have accomplished all that could be expected in such a short time and thus given proof of their sincere intention and earnestness to become farmers in fact. Notwithstanding their present poverty, scanty food and poor habitation, which would discourage others, these families seem to make sacrifices of all personal comforts and stick to farming.

In an attempt to secure the interest of Detroit Jews in these farmers, an exhibition—the first, it may be remarked in passing, of Jewish farmers in the United States,—was held. Further loans were granted by the Fund, but to no avail. The colony was abandoned in 1900. The reasons for its failure were tersely summarized by Dr. Gabriel Davidson:[4]

> The odds were too great. . . . A small band of peddlers, utterly devoid of agricultural experience, with an insignificant initial capital, settling on lands that were swampy, cut over, burnt out and infertile, under contracts that were millstones about their necks, with a serious financial panic breaking out before they even had a chance to orient themselves, most of all, with the spectre of the sheriff constantly before their eyes, the colony was foredoomed to failure.

These struggles, however, were chapters of a story that took years to write. In the meantime, all these independent ventures were being hopefully followed by the Trustees and encouraged. More promising was a trend that had begun to assume quite some proportions in the East in the early Nineties. This was the purchase of "abandoned" farms in the New England states by Russian

and other immigrant Jews. As is well known, these farms, which usually varied in size from 120 to 400 acres, were beginning to be deserted by the younger generation of New England farmers on account of their low productivity. The "individual" Jewish farmer, as distinguished from the colonist, usually had means of his own, bought these farms cheaply and on favorable terms, his initial investment of from five to eight hundred dollars often enabling him to get a farm at a price much below the cost of the buildings. An incipient settlement of Russian Jewish farmers—for they tended to draw their friends and relatives into similar undertakings in the neighborhood—was begun in 1891, in the vicinity of New London, in Connecticut.

Loans to individual farmers had been considered, as we have seen, quite hazardous by the Trustees. Nevertheless, loans of this sort had been made, after thorough investigation, upon good security. No general principles, however, had been laid down with reference to this type of aid. As the demands continued, it was agreed that individual loans to farmers should be extended on second mortgages. Certain conditions were set. The farmer applying for a loan must show some investment of his own in the farm; that he had been established for some length of time; that his character and ability were such as to make for success; and that the loan would be reasonably secure. Many loans were made on this basis.

To strengthen this unexpected development, the Fund in the spring of 1891 set up an Agricultural Bureau, with Mr. Reichow in charge. Its activities were varied, from investigating requests for loans, to dispensing information on farming and preventing farm buyers from being defrauded or misled. A bulletin of information, called "The Jewish Farmer" was issued in 1892, written "in easy German with Hebrew lettering and partly English," for the benefit of immigrants. This was premature and was discontinued the next year. A list of New England farms for sale was compiled, to help immigrants supplied with capital in selecting the proper farms.

Many of these settlers were concentrated on dairy farms; for this their land was peculiarly adapted, and they had the additional advantage of a market for their milk in the nearby towns. To increase their earnings, a creamery was erected by the Fund at Chesterfield, Connecticut, at a cost of $3000, part of which was contributed by Mr. Schiff. As a result, new settlers located themselves in this area, especially in Oakland, Palmerton and Salem. Shortly thereafter, a number of Russian Jews employed in the

woolen mills of Colchester, Connecticut, invested their savings in the purchase of farms in the neighborhood, creating a new center of Jewish enterprise. By the end of the decade, from 400 to 600 Jewish farmers were estimated to be situated in New England territory, living on and cultivating their own land.

Baths

To meet the need for bathing facilities which were not allowed for in the tenement construction on the East Side, the Fund opened up free baths on the corner of Henry and Market Streets for the immigrant population. Public baths were yet hardly in vogue. The facilities provided by the Fund took the form of "rain-baths"—what are today known as showers. The idea struck the fancy of New York, for the "rain-bath" was something entirely novel to the United States. Many columns were written in the press on the Fund's free baths. Said the New York World of October 25, 1893, somewhat quaintly:

> To popularize bathing among the poor of a great city, public baths must be established in the immediate vicinity of the populous tenement districts where their presence would offer a constant allurement and where the people may obtain in passing pure water, soap and towels as well as comfortable accommodations. The Hirsch Fund trustees decided to adopt the German rain bath. The essential principle of these baths is the abolition of the old-fashioned bathtub and the substitution of the shower bath, the bather standing in a rain of lukewarm water falling upon him with some force while he is soaping himself, and thus gets rid of all accumulation on his skin, the latter being washed away by the force of the douche and flowing at once away in the drains provided for each bath.

Student Loan Fund

Among the new immigrants, there was a group who would normally have been neglected in favor of the materially needy. This was the students. At this time, loans to students were generally infrequent, and in the poverty of the new group, this class of able intellectuals would have suffered greatly. Dr. Goldman drew the attention of the Trustees to their needs and initiated a loan fund by donating for this purpose the legal fees which he had earned as lawyer in the investment of the funds of the Trust. This amounted to $1500. The Student Loan Fund was administered by a committee, appointed shortly thereafter, consisting of Professor Seligman, Professor Morris Loeb, and Dr. Goldman. The persons helped were men who had received the elements of a professional training in medicine, law and other fields in Europe, and who required but a short time to qualify as doctors or lawyers

or engineers in this country. A number of those who received aid through this fund became well-known leaders of the Russian-Jewish community; one of them an engineer of national prominence; another was the eminent social worker, Dr. David Blaustein.

The Refugees of the Nineties

These many and multifarious steps were being taken, it must be realized, in the midst of a period of alarms and perturbations. Shortly after the Fund came into being, rumors were general that new measures of oppression were being planned in Russia. Partly through the efforts of the Trustees, official inquiries were initiated by the American government. Despite the denial of the Russian government that new measures affecting the Jews were contemplated—a statement affirmed by our then Minister to Russia, Charles Emory Smith—the following spring witnessed the promulgation of an imperial ukase which extended to the interior of Russia the application of the May Laws of 1882. Expulsions from Moscow, Kiev, St. Petersburg, and other places outside the Pale of Settlement of many thousands of Jews followed the execution of this order. The world was shocked by this incredible exhibition of bureaucratic inhumanity, which was reported in masterly fashion to the people of this country by Harold Frederic, in "The New Exodus", one of the most widely-read books of the early Nineties.

Again the tragic scenes of the previous decade were repeated—refugees concentrating in frontier cities of Austria and Germany, protest meetings throughout the world, committees formed in Berlin, Vienna, London, etc., for the organization of relief and emigration.

On this side of the Atlantic the situation was reflected in the great numbers of Russian Jews pouring into the United States. In the four months from June to September 1891, there came to New York City alone over 35,000 Russian Jews. Other eastern cities received proportionately great accessions. By the end of the year the enormous total of 60,000 Jews from Russia had entered the Barge Office of the port of New York.

The greater numbers that arrived are partly to be explained by the fact that the concessions made to the J.C.A. legalized Jewish emigration from Russia; also that unlike the 80's there were now in the United States some 200,000 Russian Jews who were in a position to extend aid. The element that was suffering, moreover, was, as a rule, better situated economically than their brethren of the Pale. Indeed, quite a few were wealthy. Yet most were ruined by this swift uprooting from their homes and the compulsion of leaving or selling their businesses and belongings for whatever they could get.

As the New York Commercial Advertiser pointed out:[5]

"A popular idea prevails that most of the Hebrews that come to America are paupers and the refuse of Russia. Nothing could possibly be wider of the mark. More than two-thirds are fairly well-to-do, and require no assistance. It is the small one-third that requires temporary aid. . . . Their eviction from Russia in most cases has been so barbarous and cruel that it mainly has caused their temporary helplessness."

In February, there was organized the Jewish Alliance of America. This had its beginnings in Philadelphia and received its impetus from Russian-Jewish residents of that city. It was the first instance of public activity of the new immigrant group. Branches were rapidly organized in the chief cities and an elaborate program laid out for the distribution of the new arrivals over the country. On the whole the Jewish Alliance was a paper organization, without financial or any other power. The enormous tide of Russian Jewish immigration of 1891 was a crisis too serious for an inexperienced and hastily formed organization to master. Realizing this, the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund called a conference on September 22, 1891, at the Hebrew Institute in New York City. The most important organizations represented were, in addition to the Fund and the United Hebrew Charities, the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, the Free Sons of Israel, The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Jewish Alliance of America. Thus was formed the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Exiles.

Looking toward intelligent cooperation with the Central German Committee, the Fund sent Dr. Julius Goldman as its representative to an international Jewish conference called in Berlin in October 1891. His presence was sorely needed. He found the European leaders turning to the Jews of America for financial aid in this crisis. Great importance was therefore attached to the report of the American Committee which was submitted by Dr. Goldman, elected Vice-President of the conference. Its reading superseded all other reports by unanimous consent, for North America was looked upon as the only practicable outlet for refugees, though other countries promised favorable results.[6] Dr. Goldman pointed out the terrific burden that was being borne by the relatively small Jewish communities in the United States, which were getting most of the emigration. To meet this emergency, it was finally agreed

that the European Committee was to place a million francs at the disposition of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

Dr. Goldman made clear to the delegates at Berlin the situation in the United States, especially with reference to the question of "assisted" immigration. It was decided that only self-supporting families, or such as could be made self-supporting, should be sent. All others were to be returned to Russia or diverted elsewhere.

Not a small part of his problem was to explain to the Trustees of the Fund why so many were coming to this country. We quote a few vivid lines from Dr. Goldman's letter to the Trustees:

> During the last four months, from April to August, 1891, about 35,000 Jews have passed the borders in flight from Russia; of these some 25,000 Jews have means of their own; 10,000 were destitute. The German committees at the borders and the seaports have made a careful selection of those to be sent forward and several thousands were to be returned to Russia.
>
> Where should these refugees go? Germany is absolutely closed to them by the state and the police. England still supports a large number but is apprehensive that immigration will assume large proportions. There is considerable agitation for Palestine. A project is under way for colonization in Brazil.
>
> Why do the European committees send the Russian Jews to the United States? The answer is simple. There is not another country that can receive them at the present time. Only one of two things is possible—either to repatriate these people or to receive them for the present in America. Repatriation would be barbarous.

This was forty years ago, yet the difficulties facing the Jewish leaders in this period of stress and anxiety accurately reflect the problems of our own day, this time in relation to the Jewish refugees from Germany. With this striking difference, however, that the fate of the latter has become a matter of formal international concern, through the appointment of a High Commissioner for Refugees by the League of Nations. How similar were these problems of a generation ago demanding solution from the Jewish organizations the world over may be seen from a press report, taken from the New York Sun of December 9, 1933, of a session of the Conference Council on Refugees:[7]

> U. S. URGED TO RECEIVE JEWS
>
> BERENGER TELLS REFUGEES PARLEY BURDEN ON EUROPE MUST BE LIGHTENED
>
> LAUSANNE, Switzerland, Dec. 8 (A.P.)—The conference on refugees ended its session today with appeals to the United States and South America to lighten the burden of Europe by receiving Jews who have left Germany.
>
> After warning that a flood of refugees would continue from Germany, Victor Henry Berenger, former French Ambassador to Washington, said France has given asylum to thirty thousand persons, and had reached its limit.

> "Europe is full up," said Lord Robert Cecil of Great Britain, permanent chairman of the conference council, "and must look to countries further afield."
>
> *Exodus Not Foreseen*
>
> No one, Lord Cecil added, could have predicted the Jewish exodus from Germany as a possibility in modern European civilization.
>
> Turning toward Lord Cecil, Alberto N. Guani of Uruguay, vice-chairman, said, "We think the countries of North and South America who have few refugees can now carry the torch."
>
> He expressed hope that Argentina and Brazil would be represented in future meetings.
>
> James G. McDonald of New York, high commissioner of the refugees, warned the conference that it had only begun its labors and urged all to contribute to the goal of enabling Jewish and other refugees from Germany "to begin lives anew in homelands where they will contribute to the material and cultural civilization."
>
> *Predicts Generous Response*
>
> Assurance that his countrymen would respond generously to appeals for the large sums needed to solve the problem was given by Dr. Joseph Perkins Chamberlain, delegate from the United States.
>
> Dr. Chamberlain said that he was convinced the situation could not be cleared up by sending the refugees from one country to another, but that they must be given honorable positions and allowed to settle.

Relief was the paramount necessity then as now. Much of the energies and most of the income of the Trustees of the Fund went in the direction of aiding the inpouring thousands of Russian Jews. In Dr. Lee K. Frankel's graphic words:[8]

> The entire charitable effort of the New York Jewish community was for the time directed out of the ordinary channels and applied to the monumental question of caring for the arriving Russian Jews. The Baron de Hirsch Fund, instead of utilizing its income for its educational work, appropriated over $67,000 to the United Hebrew Charities to assist in the work of the immigration bureau. Over $175,000 was spent by the society during this year. In September of 1891 it became apparent that there would be no cessation to the immigration and that much larger funds would be necessary to give anything like adequate assistance to the unfortunates who were arriving at the rate of 2,000 per week. The enthusiasm which was aroused at a banquet tendered to the late Jesse Seligman was utilized in establishing the "Russian Transportation Fund" which added over $90,000 to the revenues of the United Hebrew Charities and which was given by citizens of New York, irrespective of creed. Later in the year, a standing committee of the society, known as the Central Refugees Committee, was organized and made up of representatives of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Russian Transportation Fund, the United Hebrew Charities, and the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Exiles. The last committee was organized to secure the co-operation of relief societies in other cities, in order that the various European societies who were assisting the persecuted Russians to emigrate should thoroughly understand the attitude of the New York organization.

The year, October 1891, to September 1892, will ever be a memorable one in the history of Russian emigration and of Jewish philanthropy; 52,135 immigrants arrived at the Barge Office during that period. The treasurer of the United Hebrew Charities paid out the enormous sum of $321,311.05 of which $145,200 was spent by the Russian Refugees Committee between February and September. Like the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, the history of the Central Russian Refugees Committee is still to be written. At present it is included in the bald statement of a treasurer's report. Should it ever be published, it will tell a tale of devotion, of altruistic effort, of sacrifice, of noble charitable impulse unparalleled in the history of American Judaism.

Almost as suddenly as it began the stream decreased. The discovery of a few cases of typhus among immigrants on an arriving steamer caused the government to close the ports to European immigration for some time. When the barriers were lifted, and emigration was resumed, the depression that began in 1893 in this country, coinciding with relative quiet in Russia, ended the panicky flight of Russian Jews. In the meantime, over 100,000 Russian Jews had entered this country in 1891 and 1892, of whom nine-tenths had landed at the port of New York. The need for relief continued to prove a serious drain upon the resources of the Fund for some years. Fully half of its income was absorbed in immediate aid to the continually augmenting body of immigrants, in the first part of the Nineties. These demands became gradually less, and in 1917 the relief work was given up, in view of the organization of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies in New York City. The entire amount devoted to relief for over this quarter of a century was nearly one million dollars.

Mexico and Colonization

The Jewish expulsions were the final evidence to Baron de Hirsch, if any were needed, that he was headed in the right direction. He was alive to the urgency of finding other channels for the settlement of Russian Jews en masse besides the Argentine colonies which were then only in a formative stage. Mr. Schiff, in October 1891, had suggested Mexico as a possible outlet. The brief correspondence between these men given in part below throws light on the practical, yet broad statesmanlike attitude with which they approached the question, as well as their agreement on the seriousness of the situation in the United States.[9]

I must admit [Baron de Hirsch wrote] that the proportions which the emigration of Russian Jews has lately assumed, and the excessive immigration which begins to make itself felt in the United States, make it incumbent upon us to look around for new outlets for the colonists. But then, these new outlets must be of a sort to offer indisputably material advantages and a certainty of success.

Will Mexico fulfill these conditions, especially as regards richness of soil?

To be clear, I ask whether Mexico can offer the same prospects of financial success as the Argentine Republic. In this latter country in fact, each colonist, without discrimination, established on land well selected (as regards situation, fertility, and means of communication), land bought at cost price or even at somewhat higher prices, provided he is industrious, can be sure not only to earn his living, but to repay by annual instalments within a pretty short time, those who furnished him the means of settlement.

Will the same conditions be met with in Mexico?

It is imperative to be certain on this point. No doubt if it were only a question of transporting a limited number of colonists, the moneys needed would be found à fond perdu; but having to face eventually a colonization scheme which may embrace a population of five million souls (distributed, I admit, over a great number of years) we must take care to colonize so that the capital which is in good faith invested in such an undertaking will receive a sufficient and certain remuneration. Only under these circumstances will it be possible to succeed in time in raising the enormous capital needed for such a gigantic enterprise.

If we wish to take up colonization of Mexico, we must investigate the case from a financial point of view, from a business and not a philanthropic standpoint, just as if it were a question of a new railroad or any other project destined to repay the capital invested.

Would you feel disposed, and would it be possible for you, acting in concern with the Committee of my Trust in New York, or with any other elements you may select, to organize an expedition to Mexico, with a view to study and eventually prepare the emigration at large to that country?

It must yet be clearly stated, that the management of the Mexican colonization will be entirely in American hands; the project once decided upon, Europe's part in it will consist only in contributing financially to the formation of the required capital, and in the work of selecting and forwarding the emigrants. But the management and the organization of everything else will be intrusted to the United States.

Mr. Schiff replied:

I agree entirely with you that any plan, whatever it may be, must be carried out on business-like principles, and if on this point we do not succeed in New York, it will be mainly because the influx for many months has been so enormous that no systematic arrangement can possibly be effected to take proper care of the arrivals. It is difficult enough to deal on business principles with people who come almost naked and helpless, but even if it were feasible with a few individuals or with a small number, it is entirely impossible when it is a matter of ten thousand per month. Since we must provide even the barest necessities for the immense number of refugees who come to our shores, and since even the small sums required involve, in the aggregate, great financial sacrifices on the part of American Jewry, we cannot collect the large sums which would alone make possible in this country a colonization scheme that would yield results. In the last analysis the United States remains the best field for colonization, and if we only had the necessary capital, much could still be done here, especially in the states west of the Rocky Mountains. What we are now doing, as you know, is to organize trial colonies, through which we hope to awaken in our Russian co-religionists a desire to engage in agriculture, and

in this manner to induce those who are already here to relieve the tremendous congestion in the seaboard cities.

An expedition at Mr. Schiff's expense revealed a too low economic status in Mexico to make an attempt at colonization worth while. He advised Baron de Hirsch against it, and the matter ended.

Death of Baron de Hirsch

It was a shock to the world when, at the age of sixty-three, Baron de Hirsch suddenly died on April 21, 1896. Throughout the civilized world, the interest aroused in his work on behalf of the unfortunates of his people was shown in the descriptions of his career and of the vast undertakings to which he had committed himself and to which he had devoted much of his considerable fortune. Memorial services were held by the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund at Temple Emanuel on May 10, at which eminent leaders of the community and of the country at large expressed their sentiments of grief.

Cooperation with the J.C.A.

With the death of Baron de Hirsch, active relations began with the J.C.A. Its Council of Administration proceeded to carry into effect the arrangement by which the Baron de Hirsch Fund was to receive regularly a stated portion of the income of this central foundation of Baron de Hirsch. In this way began a long continued and close collaboration between these two organizations which was to exercise considerable influence upon the future of the Jewish immigrant population in the United States.

The participation of the J.C.A. at this time in the solution of the problems facing the Trustees of the Fund may well be regarded as a turning point in the situation. Additional finances were badly needed if the broader programs on behalf of the immigrants were to be successfully attacked. Large as the income of the Fund appeared to be at the inception of the Fund, it had proved wholly inadequate to meet the two main demands for relief and the creation of institutions for the permanent betterment of the immigrant population.

Conditions were highly favorable for new efforts in the direction of permanent undertakings. At the time the J.C.A. entered upon the scene, there had been quite a cessation of immigration from Russia and other East-European countries. Jewish immigration had dropped from the immense number of 76,000 in 1892 to 20,000 in 1897, a number lower than in any year in the last part of the previous decade. This gave the badly needed breathing spell, the

opportunity to survey the field and to utilize the experience of half a decade. The support of the J.C.A. was to prove of not only financial value. In the consideration of plans and evaluation of results, the large experience and critical grasp of this group of able European leaders of Jewish communal enterprises were to be at times highly esteemed.

When Dr. Goldman wrote the directors of the Jewish Colonization Association shortly after the death of Baron de Hirsch upon the various needs of the Fund, he ably stated the case for removal:

> We believe that the entire problem substantially resolves itself into an effort to clean out the Ghetto that exists principally in New York, but also to a certain extent in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston. How can this be accomplished?
>
> First: We believe that if the means were at our command a large number of those who are now settled in these Ghettos, could be induced to leave the same, provided we could convince them that we are in a position to ameliorate their condition. Families who apply to the charitable institutions for assistance could be told that assistance will be furnished to them if they are willing to leave the city. We think that as soon as the economic conditions of the United States will improve, and we are hoping for a very early improvement, arrangements could be made throughout the United States in manufacturing centres for the gradual placing of a limited number of the families now in the Ghettos in each of these centres, in which they could make a fair living. This would result not only in removing a certain number from the Ghettos, but every centre selected for the placing of such families would act as a magnet, drawing to it people who are now located in our large cities, but more especially attracting people who might hereafter arrive in the course of natural immigration. We feel that the natural immigration of Russian Jews will continue, and if we can remove from the large cities the relatives, friends and acquaintances of those who will hereafter come, such new arrivals will follow of their own accord. . . .

Upon receiving detailed information concerning plans and costs, the J.C.A., promptly, in January 1897, voted the sum of $12,000 for the purpose of removing one hundred families from New York City to other manufacturing sections of the country. Expressing appreciation for this concrete indication of approval with their plans, the Trustees pointed out that it would be necessary to proceed very cautiously with the removal of families from the city. The economic conditions at this time were still deplorable and the work of transportation, it was suggested, should be postponed until a renewal of business was imminent.

Baroness de Hirsch and Housing

This gentle and modest woman continued the efforts begun by her husband along the lines traced by him in the amelioration of the condition of the Russian-Jewish immigrants. Upon learning

that the directors of the Jewish Colonization Association were not planning any large work for the rehabilitation of the New York Ghetto, Baroness de Hirsch informed the Trustees of the Fund that she contemplated putting a large sum of money at their disposition for the relief of congestion on the East Side. As outlined in her correspondence, the project called for the erection of better housing in the districts where the immigrants lived.

A direct solution of this enormously difficult problem of congestion had been attempted in the first days of the organization of the Fund, with the appointment of a Committee on Homes, under the chairmanship of Jesse Seligman. This committee had proceeded to examine plans of existing model tenements, and had investigated the budding settlement of Jews in Brownsville and East New York, in which there were some five hundred Russian-Jewish families engaged chiefly in tailoring and shirtmaking. Though stigmatized by Riis in one of his books at this time as a "nasty little slum," it seemed to offer more favorable conditions than the East Side. Many of these families owned their homes. There were schools in the neighborhood to accommodate their children.

The trend of opinion was in favor of securing tracts of land near some large city for the erection of suburban homes. An abortive effort was made to create suburban settlements. Applications were received from about four hundred immigrants willing to move outside the city; builders were aided to put up houses to sell on very modest terms in a few nearby places. Apart from the energetic work of the United Hebrew Charities in these early days in promoting its country-industrial program, very little was accomplished. The attention of the Trustees was turning towards agricultural colonization, and interest in any large work of removal had subsided. Moreover, the income of the Fund was being too much absorbed in other directions to allow for experimentation in a relatively unfamiliar field.

This prospect, however, of a new and effective attack upon the Ghetto led to a series of meetings of the Committee on Homes, or as it was called at this time, the Committee on Improved Housing. Beginning in April, 1897, the meetings lasted through the following year. At a meeting on May 3, 1897, at which were present Oscar S. Straus, Lillian D. Wald and Dr. E. R. L. Gould, the well-known housing expert, four methods of housing relief were proposed:

1. The erection of improved tenement houses on the East Side.
2. Erecting such tenements outside of the East Side but within the city limits.
3. Inducing the inhabitants of the East Side to remove to other places by paying a portion of their rent for a period, six months or a year. (There



BARONESS CLARA DE HIRSCH

was, of course, the danger of pauperization, and the added difficulty that these persons might not be able to find work as readily as in their present quarters.)

4. The purchase of a large tract of land in the suburbs of Greater New York, building a number of small homes, and shops for contractors from whom these people receive work; rentals to be low and arranged to enable them to become owners in a relatively short time.

The Baroness indicated her interest in the first two plans and her willingness that an experiment be made along these lines. For this purpose she remitted over a quarter of a million dollars. The plan of creating suburban homes she thought of primary importance.

More difficult than any that they had undertaken to solve was the problem now before the Trustees. An Advisory Committee on Homes was organized, which consisted of Messrs. Jacob Steinhardt, Meyer Jonasson, Marx Ottinger and Joseph L. Buttenweiser. The members of the Fund acting as the Committee on Homes, at this period, were Jacob H. Schiff, Chairman, Abraham Abraham, and James H. Hoffman. To aid the committees in their investigation, Dr. Milton Reizenstein, a graduate of Johns Hopkins, who had written on the question of housing for low-income groups, was engaged.

While the various plans were being examined, the Advisory Committee took the initial step of inducing several contractors to move their shops to the upper East Side, around 92nd Street, thus attracting about eighty families to this neighborhood.

In the many months of debate over the burning question as to the best methods for inducing the Jews to leave the East Side for less congested quarters, it became clear that work must be found for them at a reasonable distance from the homes in which they were to settle. This necessitated the creation of conditions favorable to contractors or manufacturers in the needle industries so that they might remove to these places. It seemed impossible to avoid the needle industries, for by this time the remarkable adaptation of the immigrant Jews to this type of work had been fully recognized. There was no thought of attempting to change this occupational complex, but rather to follow the line of least resistance.

The first definite undertaking, an attempt to combine the model tenement idea with removal to other sections of the city, was begun in 1898. In addition to some land acquired in Brooklyn, sixteen lots were purchased for $69,000 in a northern section of the city wholly uninhabited by Jews, on 137th and 138th Streets, between Willis Avenue and Brown Place. The plot was on wide

and well-paved streets, facing St. Mary's Park, convenient to public schools, and affording excellent transportation facilities. Architects were engaged to draw plans for the erection of eight improved or model tenements. In the meantime, a company was organized under the name of the Borough Homes Company, with a capital of $250,000, to manage the housing problems of the Fund. Mr. Joseph L. Buttenweiser was elected president, Mr. Hoffman treasurer, Judge Isaacs, secretary, and Dr. Goldman and Messrs. Straus and Schiff, members.

A variety of problems, chiefly the type of model houses to be built, absorbed the attention of the company's directors. Details of the model tenement construction in vogue at this time were studied with reference to the size of courts, the amount of light and air, baths, and the like.

But final estimates for the construction of the model tenements on 138th Street far exceeded the amount that had been set aside for this experiment. Meanwhile, faith in the model tenement as a solution of the congestion problem had diminished. It was argued that transplantation of Jews to other districts in New York, would eventually result in the growth of other slums, as the success of these better tenements might stimulate real estate speculators to build undesirable houses in competition with the Hirsch tenements. The property acquired for this purpose in New York and Brooklyn was finally sold.

Attention was concentrated on the establishment of suburban homes. Earlier, this had been looked upon as a leap in the dark. But now it was decided to proceed with the project, though cautiously, out of deference to the wishes of the Baroness, whose preference for this approach was quite pronounced. The Baroness, indeed, had suggested that the model tenement and the suburban plans be undertaken simultaneously. Furthermore, manufacturers had been interviewed with reference to removing shops to suburban districts and many had indicated their willingness to cooperate.

The project involved the moving of families and manufacturers to places where Jews were acceptable, principally New England, where immigrant Jews were already settling in fairly large numbers. The families would be given mortgages on homes they would acquire, and the manufacturers given subventions on condition that they establish their plants in these sections and provide constant work for these people. Several objectives would be thus attained. Primarily, there was the obvious gain to health in the removal of families from the East Side to country districts, as well

as a complete change from the moral atmosphere of the overcrowded city tenement houses. While wages were lower than in the city (perhaps as much as ten percent), the work was more steady and physically less of a strain. Advantages of home ownership were also stressed. There were prospects, moreover, of additional income from part-time farming or gardening. Jewish farmers in the neighborhood would likewise be assisted in the form of new consumers in the local market.

This policy was not altogether new; it had been tried before on a small scale and with quite a degree of success. Shortly before, with the aid of subsidies granted by the J.C.A., the Fund had revivified the settlements of Alliance, Carmel and Rosenhayn. It had financed the removal of 100 families of these communities, and as had been hoped, 150 families followed at their own expense. The net cost to the Fund for removal was remarkably small —only $14 per family.

The plan was communicated to Baroness de Hirsch, who was asked to leave to the discretion of the Trustees the method of application of her donation in the relief of congestion. The Baroness accepted this arrangement as satisfactory. This was in January, 1899. The following April she died. In addition to the sum of one million dollars which she had given for the specific purpose of relieving congestion, she bequeathed six million francs to the Baron de Hirsch Fund for its general purposes. These bequests, and her initiation of the housing project and the Clara de Hirsch Home for working girls, indicated how deeply she had shared in the aims of her husband.

Called upon, a few years later, to contribute to a fund for the erection of a monument to the memory of Baron and Baroness de Hirsch, Mr. Schiff refused. His explanation was a tribute to their memory:

> Knowing from my many years' official connection with, and labors in behalf of, the Hirsch Foundation, and from my personal acquaintance with the lamented Baron and Baroness de Hirsch, of the intentions, labors, and wishes of these great philanthropists, I do not hesitate to say that nothing could have been further from their desires than that the aspirations of their noble lives should be perpetuated through a monument in stone and iron. Indeed, it was the last request of the Baroness de Hirsch that no addresses nor eulogies be pronounced over her grave. The noble woman no doubt felt that, if the ideas and endeavors which she and the Baron had embodied permanently into the princely foundations the world over which they had instituted could not secure honor and permanency to their memory, no words or monuments could or should do this.[10]

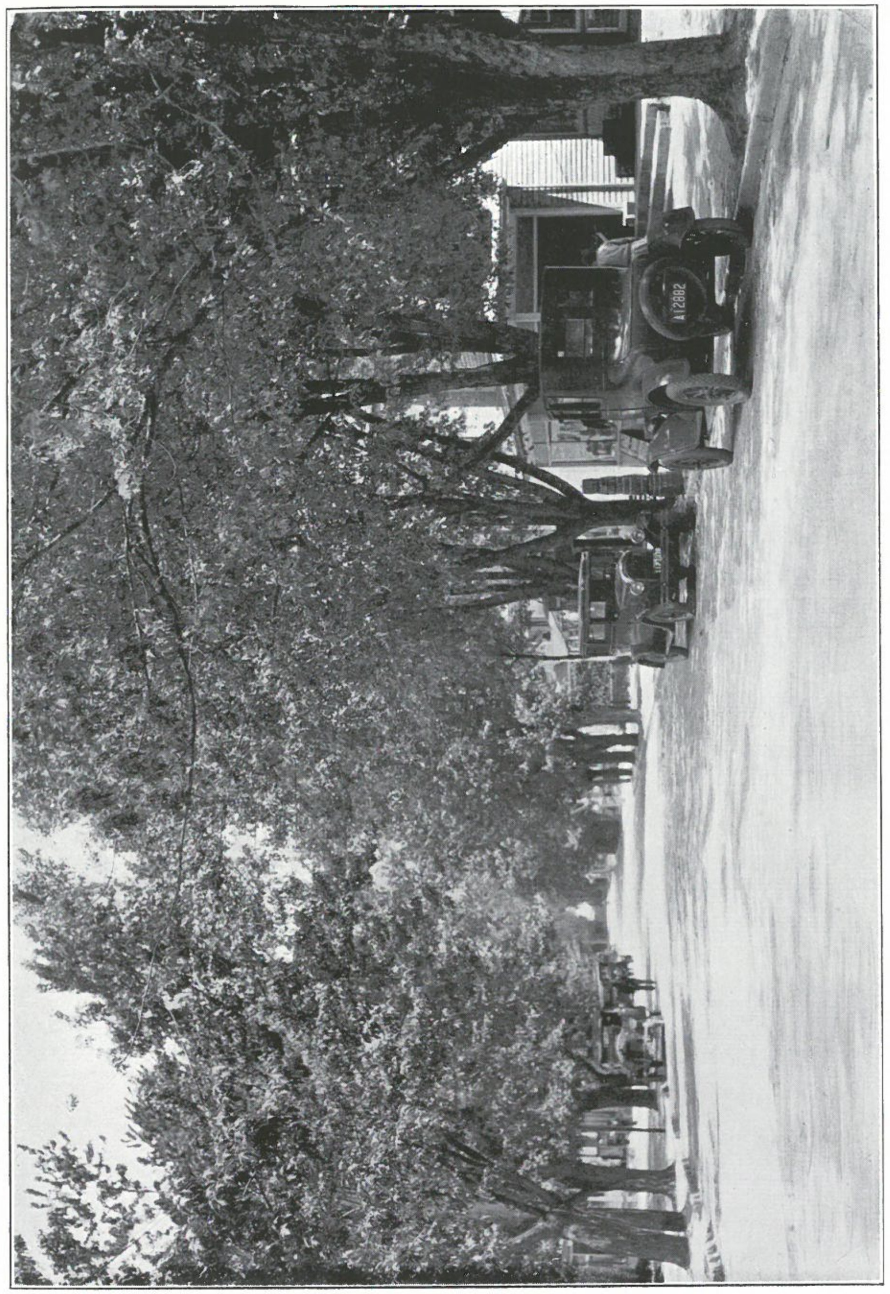
CHAPTER III

WOODBINE

Part 1.—The Settlement of Woodbine

What Kind of Colony Should be Organized?

The promotion of agriculture among the immigrant Jews as a primary activity of the newly established foundation was uppermost in the minds of Baron de Hirsch and the first Trustees or members of the Central Committee. Hence, among the committees formed from the very beginning was one on Agricultural and Industrial Settlements. There was, however, great uncertainty as to what should be attempted. It was agreed, as we saw, that a colony should be started. Toward this end, the sum of $240,000 had been definitely earmarked by Baron de Hirsch, though the plans for its utilization were of the vaguest. When the committee began to define its aims more precisely, and to search for sites suitable for settling groups of immigrants, a sharp difference of opinion arose as to whether the first colony to be initiated should be of an agricultural character or suburban and industrial. The suburban plan had been the one originally set forth. Families were to be placed in groups near New York or Philadelphia, on small plots of ground, no more than an acre to a family, some members of which would work in the city. The Trustees in favor of the suburban-industrial development were mainly concerned with seeking swift remedies for the over-concentration of immigrants in the slum quarters of the great cities. The chairman of the Committee on Agricultural and Industrial Settlements, Dr. Julius Goldman, on the other hand, argued for a purely agricultural colony, which would serve as an effective demonstration of the desire and the capacity of the Russian Jew to till the soil and earn his living by the sweat of his brow, in the traditional spirit of the early pioneers. Toward this goal he had labored for many years with Michael Heilprin at great personal sacrifice. Support for his convictions came from the Russian Jews themselves, led mainly by survivors of the disastrous experiments of the Eighties. With the new stream of the Nineties, colonization was again in the air, and the Trustees



Woodbine Street

were receiving appeals from societies, such as the Illinois Colonization Society and one organized by David Lubin in San Francisco, and from numerous individuals, to aid the hordes of immigrants that apparently were eager to enter farming.

A "Russian Auxiliary Committee," composed of Herman Rosenthal, Selig Rosenbluth and the beloved Dr. Paul Kaplan, was created to seek a good location for the colony and to get together families of the proper sort willing to join the proposed settlement. To this committee was later added Prof. H. L. Sabsovich, an agricultural chemist, and one of the organizers of the "Am-Olam" societies in Russia. It was understood that if an agricultural colony were organized, he would become its superintendent.

The Selection of Woodbine

The committee finally concentrated its search on southern New Jersey and, after investigating various sites, recommended the purchase of an uncleared tract of land comprising 5300 acres situated in Woodbine, New Jersey. Convincing reasons were given to justify the choice. It was a large tract, easily assembled. Mr. Schiff as well as Dr. Goldman regarded this as an advantage, for they were certain that a rapid expansion of the colony would follow its inauguration. Railroad facilities were ample, the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad traversing the tract, with stations at Woodbine and at Mount Pleasant, at the other extreme end. The land had been surveyed and a town site had already been arranged in the center of the tract. The soil was favorable for truck farming and for the production of small fruits, which could be sold in nearby markets at Sea Isle City, sixteen miles away, at Cape May, and even Philadelphia. There were improved farms in the neighborhood, which showed that the land could be brought to a high state of cultivation. In the opinion of the committee, the region had great possibilities, as had been shown in the settlement of Vineland, Carmel and Alliance by Russian Jews. Moreover, the attitude of the farmers of the neighborhood toward the newcomers was friendly. "The Russians are believed in," reported the committee. To refugees, fresh from persecution and pogrom, this was no minor consideration.

Some of the Trustees still opposed the plan. Suburban sites were also being examined, and, from time to time, reported upon favorably. The issue came to a head at a meeting of the Trustees on July 19, 1891, with Dr. Goldman supporting Woodbine and his opponents, led by James H. Hoffman, favoring a suburban tract in Hightstown, New Jersey. Dr. Goldman's willingness to assume the

weighty task of organizing the colony carried the majority of the Trustees with him.

A corporation to manage this enterprise was organized with a capital of $50,000 under the name of the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company, its directors being Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, which held all the capital stock. The tract was bought in August 1891 for $37,500. Dr. Goldman was elected President of the company, and Prof. Sabsovich the Superintendent of the colony.

Preliminary Activities

Work was swiftly begun. The land was surveyed and divided into parcels of fifteen acres. A similar area adjoining each plot was reserved for subsequent occupancy by the owner of the first parcel. Eight hundred acres were set aside for the town.

The workmen used temporary structures near the railroad station until spring house-building time arrived. The town plot, centrally located in the tract, was divided roughly in two by the Avenue de Hirsch, along which ran the West Jersey Railroad. The streets, forming perfect rectangles, were named after American presidents, poets and statesmen; Washington Street and Avenue de Hirsch, crossing at the railroad station, became the heart of the town.

Beyond the town limits lay the 30-acre farms, and beyond these, there was to be pasture land—a lay-out similar to the medieval English village, later copied in New England.

The selection of the fifty families agreed upon as the most likely number to succeed in a colony enterprise was begun in August. By February of the following year sixty families had enrolled.

Every settler was required to invest some of his own money, and to pay in, on account of the advances made by the company, the sum of two hundred dollars. However, this condition was not insisted upon, as it was seen that this would cause the rejection of some of the most desirable families. By February, 1892, the sum of $3365 had been collected from the settlers.

The colonists were chiefly South Russians, for it was believed that they would make the best farmers. The project, so reminiscent of pioneer days, struck the imagination of the public press, because of the novelty and "human interest" of the undertaking. In Leslie's Weekly appeared the following:[1]

Before the families of the settlers moved to Woodbine, the men built the houses and prepared everything for final settlement. During this interval, they lived in rude structures that afterward became barns. A small stove, a table

made of a barrel and a board, and rough board bunks on the ground and in the loft were the only furniture.

The diet of the men was mostly coffee and black bread. Their Russian costumes, in most cases, had been put aside. Some of the older men, however, clung to their astrakhan cap and the long coat with the astrakhan trimmings. The Hebrew cast of countenance was not so marked as had been expected. The faces were broad and full. The hair of the young girls was cut straight across the forehead. The children were noticeably bright and active.

Especially interested in the project were the farm leaders in New Jersey. One of them, Francis B. Lee, recorded his impressions of Woodbine in an address before the New Jersey State Board of Agriculture, from which these details are excerpted:[2]

So actively has the work progressed that during the first year (1892) there have been cleared about six hundred and fifty acres of farmlands, together with one hundred acres of farmroads, equal to about twelve miles of driveways. In town plots and streets one hundred and seventy acres have been wrested from nature, on which about 25 houses have been built. Of these there were four different styles erected by the company, costing from $850 to $1300. The smallest have four rooms, the largest seven. The best plaster, hardwood finish, good plumbing and scientific ventilation mark these structures. The same is true of the farmhouses of which, on the 1st of last October, sixty-four had been completed. The farmhouses cost about $600, and are not quite as elaborate, but are as well built, as the town dwellings.

Furnishing means of employment is the cloak factory of Myer Jonasson & Co. of New York, where 150 people are engaged. A clothing factory has already been built, whilst cutlery, knitting and cigar factories are soon to add to the creditable evidences of material progress. Anticipating the demands of transient travel, a handsome new hotel, located in the centre of the tract, has been built at a cost of $7500. The house is thoroughly equipped. An electric plant to furnish light and power has been instituted in what two years ago was a wilderness. In addition to this, the railroad company, recognizing that Woodbine has become a notable point on the line to the Shore, has built a station to accommodate the traffic, and has established the latest improvements to keep pace with the progressive spirit of the settlement.

Turning to the town, it is a relief to notice that the pleasing characteristic of foreign cities, the spirit of improvement upon a more aesthetic side, will not be lacking in Woodbine. The driveways are of sufficient width, while at the sidewalks, magnificently broad, are lined eight double rows of young poplars and maples, which give promise of future beauty. The main avenues are well graded and are one hundred feet wide. In the early spring grass is sown, and lime is used to neutralize the acidity of the new soil. Upon the southeast side of the town a park has been reserved and walks cut through the forest of oak and pine.

Architecturally, the public buildings of the town will also be worthy of attention. A synagogue is to be erected, and public schools are now being built. It is a project, warmly endorsed by the managers, that one of these educational institutions be of an industrial character, together with an agricultural experimental station. A Russian bathhouse for public use will be a wise innovation. Indeed, the plan and scope of the work may be estimated from the fact that a

quarter of a million of Baron de Hirsch's money is already spent so successfully in Woodbine.

The company also installed a basket factory, and negotiated with a wood-turning firm. It was hoped that industries would be established "that are more manly and more promising for the future than that of needlework, to which, unfortunately, too many of the Russian refugees have been forced to devote themselves."

Hopes were high at this point. Dr. Goldman reported:

If the Directors of the company succeed in developing the town, the prices that will be realized from the sale of the lots should in a very few years reimburse the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund for the greater part of the money advanced to the colonists and when the colonists pay off the principal of their own indebtedness, such payments should constitute a profit with which new colonies can be founded and the work continued.

The Directors feel encouraged in stating that the experience they had had with this colony is of such a nature as to convince them that under proper management and with sufficient means, the work of colonizing the Russian Jews upon agricultural land can be successfully continued upon a large scale.

The Revolt

The spring of 1893 was signalized by events that led to a stop of further building and of practically all farm work for over a year. This period is still fresh in the memory of the pioneer settlers as the time of "The Trouble." With the cloak factory in operation, the Trustees regarded the foundation of the colony as laid and held that all further aid by the Fund should cease since the farmers could support themselves by work in Jonasson's factory. Prof. Sabsovich pointed out that the factory had not been running long enough to give the farmers such financial help, and that only those farmers who had children to work in the factory during the winter had means to cover current expenses. He wrote Dr. Goldman:[3]

I strongly advocate more help for the farmers. I would suggest that we advance them $100 each to plow and harrow the land; for, though they earned good money during the first year of Woodbine's existence, still, considering that everyone had to build a new home, and besides that, send a considerable amount of money to Russia to bring their families over, and to invest some on their farms, it is easy to realize that of their earnings they could save nothing. By helping them to improve their farms we shall the sooner free them from our wardship. After all, they are our wards.

Though favored by Dr. Goldman, the Trustees refused, on the ground that the capital set aside for the organization of Woodbine was practically exhausted.

The farmers were discontented for a variety of reasons. Principally, the land was not in a state to enable the farmers to support themselves. Too much clearing had been attempted with the result that few of the farms had been properly cleared and stumped. This was due partly to the over-enthusiasm of these men and partly to inexpert management.

Little was done to relieve the situation. When the leases which the original contract called for were presented in January, only two of the sixty farmers signed. It was decided by the Fund to proceed with ejectment suits against the leaders of the agitation. At once the fires of controversy flamed, charges and countercharges were made; lawyers were hired by the farmers, social workers, among them Charles B. Stover, pleaded the cause of the settlers. Sensational accounts appeared in the newspapers, of which the following, in the New York Press of April 2, 1893, was a particularly striking example:[4]

A Soil Severely Virgin

The story took cognizance of the almost insuperable difficulties the colonists had had to face:

They first bought five thousand acres of the scrub oak and pine land at $6 an acre. It is called virgin soil. It is severely virgin. Spinster soil confirmed in the old maid habits would be, perhaps, a better name for it. There is no doubt that it will make good farm land with time, patience, and scientific methods, but the battle to be waged against the stumps and the ever springing brush, is one that is taking the heart out of many a "farmer" bred to town ways, and has done much to bring about the present state of affairs.

Then there was the selection of colonists to occupy the then wilderness. The first requisite in the colony was the possession of a large family. Here again the scheme was ideal and chimerical. It sought to make what had been a burden, a help, by providing for the children in the cloak factory to bring in ready money while the father should be at home bringing the wild land into subjection. This process, it was thought, would take some three or four years during which time other factories would be started, thus in time creating the much desired "local market" for the product of the farms, whose presence is wealth or death to the agriculturist.

But it was not supposed that the children should support the parents while they were farm making. The other resources of the farmer were, first, the pay which he was to receive while clearing his farm at the rate of $7.00 an acre, and next paid work on making the many miles of road, de Hirsch Avenue and the cross roads, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and the rest named after the presidents of the land of refuge.

Then a house and cow stable with forty dollars for a cow and $12.50 for chickens, with implements, seeds, fruit trees and plants were to be given to each settler for a start.

Sixty heads of families were chosen with care for the experiment. Most of them had been settled for some time in this country. Only about fifteen were brought from the other side. They all signed contracts which would give them,

in fee simple, thirty-acre farms in twelve years at an average cost of $1,100. The first three years they were to pay fifty dollars rent, and execute leases upon presentation. Then they were to receive a deed upon paying $200 down, and giving a purchase mortgage for the land and house, and chattel mortgage on implements and livestock.

After the first heads of families had been selected they sent a delegation down to Woodbine to look at the site. Then the contracts were signed, and it is probable that no great stress was laid on the contents at the time, for the simple reason that the company had no mind that any worthy beneficiary would suffer by not being able to live up to its terms. They have asked none but the agitators for the first year's rent.

The houses were not built till late in the autumn and early winter, an inauspicious season to begin farming in the wilderness. There may have been some hardship. William Sigall and his friend, Isaac Grimsky, had the two farms at the two extreme ends of the colony. Today they pointed to a little shanty behind Sigall's house—it was no bigger than a hen's roost in a prosperous dairy country—and said: "We and our families lived in that place, sixteen in all, for five months while we were clearing off the trees."

This was not a desperate matter for pioneers who, as superintendent Sabsovich says, are glad in Dakota or Kansas to live in dugouts during their first years. Yet work under these circumstances made just this significance in the case, that it gave the colonists a feeling of having put some part of their lives into the soil and animating that feeling which made evictions so incomprehensibly hard for the Irish peasant, which made the interminable lease tenants of the patroons rise in this state in 1845, and set their pitchfork tines against the clauses of those manuscripts and the bayonets of the militia.

The story described at some length the difficulties attending the first summer's planting, difficulties which led Prof. Sabsovich to admit that possibly the farmers had been given too many acres, and too many seeds to plant in them. It described minor riots, engendered by the general discontent, which precipitated the ejection proceedings against the seven alleged "riot leaders," and pointed out, by innuendo, that possibly the Trustees, although they had the right on their side, might have tempered justice with mercy.

There are strong hopes among the friends of the noble enterprise [concluded the Press writer] that a solution will be reached. It will be sad and strange if one cannot be. The people are hardy, temperate, industrious, and gently mannered, if they are excitable and suspicious. The company and the cloak factory have paid out nearly $90,000 in wages in the year and a half that the colony has been in existence, more than enough, it would seem, to have insured the colonists both support and savings. Failure will add another agony to the perplexing problems of immigration.

Finally the aid of Col. John B. Weber, former Immigration Commissioner of the Port of New York, was enlisted and he was sent down to Woodbine to investigate the situation. He visited Woodbine in March and interviewed fifty-five farmers. Their grievances

were carefully gone into and it was conceded that they should be given work from the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company until their farms were cleared and rendered suitable for farming; this, combined with their factory earnings, would suffice for livelihood.

Further changes were made to pacify the farmers. The terms of the leases were modified, as Col. Weber believed the original charges put too great a burden upon the farmers. The price of the farm houses was reduced; the company agreed to stand the expense of necessary repairs; charges for the land, buildings, livestock, clearing and plowing, etc., were also reduced; the farmers were allowed easier payments of the installments and the interest, the payment of interest being postponed until October 1894.

These concessions did not end the unrest and the agitation continued all through the spring. It was finally decided by the Trustees to clear the air by proceeding with dispossession of the leading malcontents. The Woodbine Land and Improvement Company was determined that there was to be no interference by the colonists with the business administration of the colony. They were fortified in their decision by the fact that a number of these farmers had been in this country over two years, some as long as ten or fifteen years, and hence were regarded as not entitled to the aid of the Fund.

In May 1893, some of the most irreconcilable of the farmers were forced by legal proceedings to surrender their property. The money they had deposited was returned to them, to which was added an amount to enable them to settle elsewhere. The remaining forty-one farmers were given leases to their property.

The Effects of the Revolt

The establishment of Woodbine was, generally speaking, an undertaking, the difficulties of which had not been realized at the beginning. An observer visiting the colony before the troubles began remarked: "it will require patience on the part of the Baron de Hirsch Fund to continue the necessary assistance till the land is in proper condition, and on the part of the farmers to work perseveringly for four or five years to come." Neither of these conditions was grasped. Inexperienced and tactless management added greatly to the natural difficulties.

The experience ended with a quick reversal of opinion among the Trustees of the Fund as to the feasibility of agricultural settlements among the Russian Jews on any extended scale. Doubts had been expressed in advance by some of the Trustees, notably

Judge Isaacs, who had stated his position in these prophetic terms: "I do not think we should repeat the experiment of sending a certain number of families, whose capacity and history are unknown, to an uncleared tract of land and to be held responsible by them or in our own minds for their failure to become successful farmers." The optimism of Dr. Goldman was shattered. He abandoned the idea that a success could be made of this type of colonization. Settlers, he thought, who were placed in agricultural colonies in large numbers, without investing any means of their own, were apt to lose their energy and self-reliance and to become permanent charges upon those who started them in life.

The troubles in Woodbine had upset the community to an indescribable extent. Work on the farms had stopped for over a year. The bitterness generated toward the Fund and its administrators, as well as between the settlers, was an unfortunate climax to an experiment begun with high hopes for the reconstruction of Russian-Jewish life in the New World.

The chief result of this excitement, discussion in the press and the dispossession of the settlers was to advertise Woodbine unfavorably to the Russian-Jewish immigrants. They believed that the evicted settlers had been hardly dealt with. This was noted by Prof. Sabsovich, who reported a few years later: "Numerically, farming Woodbine had suffered on account of the dispossessing proceedings we have been forced to take against the delinquent farming tenants." Many farms were vacant as a result of the ouster. The remaining Woodbine farmers were also quite disheartened; some began leaving the place, other families were brought in from the outside to replace them—the turnover at this time was considerable.

In view of the later developments in Woodbine, the conclusions that Col. Weber arrived at as a result of his observations are of unusual interest:

> I beg to submit the following propositions for the future of Woodbine; make no further extension of farm plots at present; fill up gradually and carefully those farms from which colonists are to be ejected, or which may be surrendered upon the modified basis as to charges. Develop the town by introducing additional industries to locate there. Introduce an American or outside element as factory operatives whose influence will tend to Americanize the settlers already there. Proceed experimentally in scattering new comers of agricultural bent, instead of concentrating them; directing the affairs of such towards dairying, and perhaps truck farming near available markets.
>
> Further experience may develop the wisdom of another experiment of a farming colony upon lands yielding immediate returns, instead of lands requiring four or five years for clearing and putting in tillable shape.

Settling Down

It took the colony some time to recover from the emotions generated by the conflict and to turn soberly to the almost insuperable task of wresting a living from this wilderness. Stocktaking showed the existence of a community of eighty families and a population of nearly 500 persons. A year later Prof. Sabsovich reported hopefully that on forty-eight farms there was a total area of 233 acres under cultivation. The colonists began to pay attention to such communal needs as secular and religious education, the building of a bath house, and so forth. For these purposes, they formed the Woodbine Brotherhood, which was incorporated, and met the expenses for the religious training of their children from their own resources and from funds obtained by loans from the Baron de Hirsch Fund secured in businesslike manner by a mortgage.

The early settlers proudly relate the story of the erection of the synagogue; how each member contributed his daily work in digging the ground, carrying the bricks and doing other work; all this in addition to the cash contributions each had freely given. The enthusiasm was so strong that the whole community once went to work on a road and put their earnings, amounting to about $150, into the treasury of the Brotherhood.

One may catch the pulse and throb of these pioneer days in the letter the Directors of the Woodbine Brotherhood sent almost a quarter of a century later, to accompany the last payment to the Fund, ending the mortgage payments on the synagogue:

> At this time, when we are ending the payment of our indebtedness, we cannot help but recall our struggle in the beginning, and to thank you for the aid you so generously lent us. When we laid the foundation for the House of Worship at Woodbine, we endeavored at the same time to lay the foundations for our homes in America, and cease to be wandering Jews. Your invaluable aid therefore cannot be too highly esteemed.
>
> As the years go by and one by one our pioneers leave us to go to their eternal resting places, we are nevertheless gratified to note that our labor has not been in vain, that the new generation has not forgotten the ways of Israel, but rather, brought up by us as Jews, they have imbibed the spirit of Judaism and are lending their aid both materially and otherwise, towards the preservation of the teachings and traditions of our ancient race and religion. We feel therefore that in aiding us to erect this House of Worship at Woodbine, you aided us to erect a monument in perpetuity to Judaism in America.

Dismayed though the Trustees were at the unexpected difficulties, the nature of which they were not fully to realize until many years had gone by, they did not become completely disheartened. They turned to the problem of building up the town. Another

method of promoting Woodbine as a farming community now began to engage their interest. This was an idea originally advanced by Judge Isaacs of creating an agricultural school.

Beginnings of the Agricultural School

Colonel Weber was asked early in March, 1893, to explore the suggestion that a school of "industry and agriculture" be located at Woodbine. Tentative steps had been taken toward this end in the form of Saturday afternoon lectures on agricultural topics, illustrated with stereoptican views and demonstrations in orchards and fields, for the benefit of the farmers and their children. This led in 1893 to the conversion of the upper story of a large barn into a lecture hall. Farm #60, to which was later added farm #59, together about forty acres, was used as the demonstration farm. A mechanical shop on the ground floor of the barn was to be used for training in blacksmithing, carpentry, plumbing, etc. The first students were the sons of the Woodbine farmers, who were paid for their work on the farm and received instruction in English and arithmetic.

A teacher was appointed and the course enlarged to include instruction in mechanical drawing and geometry. Lectures were given on botany, agricultural chemistry, theory and practice of agriculture and horticulture. Two of the brighter boys, Jacob G. Lipman and Jacob Kotinsky, were prepared for entrance examinations to Rutgers College, from which they later graduated with high honors. Dr. Lipman has since become an outstanding authority on soil analysis, and dean of the New Jersey State Agricultural Experiment Station. Professor Sabsovich advised the admission to the school of the children of Jewish farmers in other localities.

In October 1894, the first regular class, consisting of fifteen boys, was organized. The general subjects in which instruction was given included the English language, history of the United States, arithmetic, drawing and land measuring. Subjects relating to agriculture were also studied, such as botany in its application to horticulture, chemistry in relation to soils and crops, the feeding of domestic animals and entomology. The practical portion of the work was carried on mainly in the greenhouses; attention was paid to the care of cattle and poultry; in the machine shop the pupils became acquainted with the handling of tools and machines.

The second year opened in the fall of 1895 with a class of twenty-two pupils, mostly from Woodbine, but two from outside communities, namely Rosenhayn, New Jersey, and Colchester, Conn. New studies were added such as anatomy and physiology. At the

expiration of the winter term twelve boys were graduated. One of these, Joseph Pincus, entered Storrs Agricultural College, Conn.; two more were retained as assistants on the school farm; two secured positions as gardener and florist; the rest went to the farms of their parents. In the following year, the numbers remained about the same; nineteen students finished the course. The curriculum was somewhat enlarged, especially in the direction of theoretical knowledge.

Prof. Sabsovich pointed to these results, which had passed in his opinion the experimental state, as indications of the great usefulness of a well-organized school. The school could help by training the children of the farmers in New Jersey, Connecticut and elsewhere. Thus two broad needs would be served—a model farm for the adult farmers, and an agricultural and industrial school for the youth. The model farm later proved impractical on account of the fact that most of the farms in South Jersey owned by Jewish farmers were too far away.

In addition to the children of farmers, Prof. Sabsovich suggested that the Fund could secure more pupils by turning to the Jewish orphan asylums for likely material to be trained in farming instead of mercantile pursuits. The pupil body of the school would thus be increased, and the per capita cost of instruction lowered through the contributions for the support of their children by these institutions.

His proposal to enlarge the Agricultural School to enable it to educate one hundred students was taken under advisement by the administration of the Jewish Colonization Association, which devoted considerable study to the extensions advocated, the yearly budget, the per capita cost, etc. Here their large experience in agricultural education in various parts of Europe was in evidence.

The changes included an increase of the land devoted to school purposes from 50 to 270 acres; the building of a dormitory and a blacksmith shop; the rebuilding of old structures and various other outlays. The increased expense would be partly met, in Sabsovich's opinion, by the income from the intensive cultivation of the school acres, chiefly with the aid of the pupils. These plans were favored by M. Tisserand, the agricultural expert of the J.C.A., though with some reservations. He remarked, perhaps with a touch of irony: "An agricultural and horticultural establishment of such importance is a great enterprise, an enterprise exposed to great risk demanding a staff of employees most careful, most active and most attentive to harvesting, keeping and disposing of the farm prod-

ucts. With a watchfulness and a staff well directed, the task of apprenticing one hundred pupils will not be above the forces of an enterprising, careful and intelligent man as Mr. Sabsovich seems to be. In Europe a man would hesitate to undertake such an affair, but in America all are bold and we ought to encourage them."

The Trustees of the Fund requested of the J.C.A. not merely a capital sum to make these changes, but an annual subsidy for the running expenses of the reorganized school. At present the latter were contributing to the support of the school about $5000 annually. With the small number of pupils that were in the school, the cost per pupil was naturally very high. This was partly because the boys were being paid for their work on the farm, which was considered necessary to compensate their families for their inability to work in the factories.

Finally the J.C.A. granted an appropriation of $23,850 for the proposed changes, and an additional allowance of $12,000 for current expenses, based on the increased number of students. Reorganization went on immediately; the school acreage was increased and a dormitory, which was named De Hirsch Hall, built at a cost of $6,000. The school began in 1898 with a registration of fifty students, which was shortly increased to sixty. The minimum age had been extended from thirteen to fourteen years; the ages ranged from fourteen to eighteen years. Most of the pupils boarded in the De Hirsch Hall. Only seventeen of them were from Woodbine; the majority came from New York and Philadelphia. Four were from the agricultural communities of Alliance, New Jersey, and Chesterfield, Connecticut. Fourteen orphans had been enrolled.

The course was now considerably broadened. The students were divided into three classes, each of one year's duration—freshman, junior and senior. The theoretical work of the school was given under three departments—general knowledge, such as English, history, geography, mechanical drawing, etc.; natural sciences, as physics, chemistry, botany, zoology; applied sciences, as soil and crops, manures and fertilizers, etc. The practical work consisted of taking care of the dairy herd, horticulture, work in greenhouses, bee keeping, poultry, etc. There was also a blacksmithing and wheel-wrighting department, and a domestic department for the girls, who did not as yet receive any theoretical instruction.

In 1899, Prof. Sabsovich asked for a new building, as the old one had been twice remodelled, and could not accommodate more than forty-five students, whereas the future registration was expected to be between 125 and 200. The Trustees again applied to

the J.C.A., which made a liberal contribution to the building fund. The new building, estimated to cost $20,000, was to be completed in September of this year.

Industrial Beginnings

With the diminution of interest in the farming possibilities of Woodbine, the development of industries began to occupy the attention of the Trustees. Here again there was no clear-cut statement of aims. It was thought, at the time when colonization plans were being formulated, that industry, as well as agriculture, might serve to divert immigrants from the cities. Hence the sum of $10,000 had been transferred by the Committee on Homes, whose program was to diminish urban congestion, to the Committee on Agricultural and Industrial Settlements. Prof. Sabsovich at first feared that mechanical trades not directly connected with farming would tend to distract the attention of the farmers from their main pursuit. Soon after the "Trouble," he emphasized the necessity of building up industry in Woodbine for the sake of its influence on agriculture on the ground that the town population would create a market for the farm products, and agriculture and industry would thus support each other. This became the *Leitmotif* of the industrial efforts that followed. It was far removed from the original attitude of making the agricultural objective paramount, which was reflected in an early decision to rent no houses in Woodbine to persons who came there merely for the purpose of being employed in industries that might be established.

The Basket Factory

The first enterprise was begun independently under the auspices of the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company. This was a broom and basket factory which it was thought might utilize the willows to be grown on the swamp lands. Some of the farmers occupied themselves with the cultivation of willows in the first few years. Mr. Reichow, in charge of the basket factory, secured buyers for their product and described in rather fervent terms the prospects of changing the present work at the factory into a home industry for the farmers who would utilize in their free time every available member of the family to make additional earnings at their homes "as is done successfully in all farming villages of France and Germany." These hopes never materialized; the basket industry remained on a small scale, never took root in the colony, and after several years was abandoned.

Bayard's Machine Shop

Of greater significance was the establishment of a small machine shop by M. L. Bayard, a Russian Jew, who had moved to Woodbine in the fall of 1891 from a neighboring defunct settlement. This was the beginning of the Woodbine Machine and Tool Company, which was to become intimately connected with the history of industrial Woodbine for over a quarter of a century and one of its most successful enterprises. The Trustees were quick to see its potentialities and loaned Mr. Bayard money for the installation of a cutting and kindling wood plant. Under his instructions boys in the Agricultural School were taught drilling, pipe-cutting, soldering and other simple processes in the mechanical shop.

Jonasson and Company

The Trustees early recognized that generous inducements must be offered to manufacturers to settle in Woodbine, with its small, uncertain population. Arrangements were made with Jonasson and Company, to give them the factory free of rent for a period of five years and to furnish steam and the services of an engineer free for six months. Concessions were also made to the two foremen of the place, who agreed to live in Woodbine. It was regarded purely as an experiment to be tried out for half a year. In April, 1892, the factory began operations.

Another factory was built for a clothing firm, which was granted free rent, light, heat, water and power. It did not live up to the terms of the contract and gave up the factory shortly thereafter.

These industrial endeavors had hardly begun when the depression of 1893 hit Woodbine. Bitter discontent with Jonasson soon led to a strike and the firm moved from Woodbine, surrendering the factory. Acute distress resulted, which was partly alleviated by giving the residents other work such as clearing land and opening streets.

A serious effort was made to secure an industry other than needle-work. Various proposals for the town were studied; among them the organization of a canning factory. Negotiations continued for many months with a large furniture manufacturer, a bag-making concern and several other firms. Not all the Trustees were agreed as to the undesirability of needle enterprises in Woodbine. Mr. Hackenburg, the more active of the two Philadelphia Trustees, who, by virtue of his nearness to the town, his business experience, and his efforts to supply the town with Russian-Jewish labor from Philadelphia, was in close touch with the situation, thought a shirt or clothing firm preferable to any other.

The Haas Concern

All these negotiations proved fruitless and arrangements were finally concluded, toward the end of 1894, with a clothing manufacturer, Guy Haas and Company, to take over the factory vacated by Jonasson. Liberal concessions were granted: free rent for three years; also free light and steam for six months, and the renting at nominal terms of twenty farm houses and four town houses for the use of the workmen. Haas agreed to employ sixty persons regularly, and to give preference to Woodbine residents. Work was begun in 1895.

The industrial prospect brightened. A small pocketbook factory was introduced with some help from the Fund, and a brick-yard using native clay with the prospect of a good market in the town for its bricks. Haas and Company were soon employing nearly one hundred workmen and paying out weekly wages of $1000. Some of the workmen began building their own homes from their savings. A large water tank and a new electric light plant were built by the Fund. The population rapidly increased to about eight hundred inhabitants. Little rifts occurred. The closing of the factories on the Jewish Sabbath was demanded by many of the workmen. This was granted, though Sabsovich and others felt that it would be advantageous generally to have Gentiles settle in the community so that the town would not become an exclusively Jewish settlement.

Of more troublesome character was the claim made in the spring by the Haas Company for reimbursement by the Fund to cover losses incurred through the poor workmanship of inexperienced operators. This was refused. The Trustees suggested that the workmen accept a reduction of ten per cent of their wages to make up the money lost. Apparently this was not acceptable and the company replied by reducing the working force to the minimum the contract with the Fund called for. Mr. Hackenburg supported their plea and declared: "I fear that if we let him (Haas) go, we will never be able to resuscitate Woodbine industries." Under this pressure, a subsidy of $160 a month for six months was granted. Nevertheless, early in February 1896, the Haas concern closed down, leaving the many families dependent upon their earnings in this factory in considerable distress.

To meet this emergency a suggestion of Mr. Reichow was accepted, and a company organized, half the capital of which was subscribed by the Fund, to take over the factory and work only on orders and consigned goods. The "Mount Pleasant Manufacturing Company," as it was named, with Mr. Hackenburg as Treas-

urer, operated for five months, during which time the workmen earned an aggregate of from $400 to $600 a week, at a total expenditure of $1500 of the Fund's money. This was the only instance where the Fund directly participated in the management of an industry in Woodbine throughout its entire history.

Woodbine was becoming a grave concern to the Trustees, mainly on account of its industrial situation. Here was an enterprise that was receiving attention from many quarters; its success had been widely advertised. It was felt important for its influence both on Jews and non-Jews. There was no doubt in the minds of the Trustees as to the eventual success of the colony if additional funds were secured for the building of a second factory, so that the town would not be jeopardized with the failure of the one manufacturer. There were pending at this time applications from manufacturers who appeared willing to move to Woodbine if a factory would be built for them. It was estimated that with the establishment of another factory, about one hundred additional families could be transferred from the cities. The principal devoted to the creation of the colony had by this time been completely exhausted; hence the Trustees turned to the J.C.A. for a grant of $25,000 for the erection of a factory and workingmen's homes. This grant was made.

Daniels and Blumenthal

In anticipation of an affirmative answer, negotiations had been concluded with a children's clothing company of Philadelphia, Daniels and Blumenthal. Again earnest efforts to attract other than needle firms had failed. Mr. Hackenburg played a principal part in the arrangements with Daniels and Blumenthal and forced the decision upon the rest of the Trustees, reluctant to make the many concessions demanded by this firm, by telegraphing: "Executive Committee must accept Daniels' proposition or close factory, which will ruin Woodbine."

There was no alternative. As an industrial center, Woodbine was not inviting. The number of workmen was insufficient for any considerable operations; there was no reserve population in the neighborhood that could be drawn upon. Few of the residents were anchored in the town by ownership of homes. Nor was this labor skilled for any kind of work. In addition, the distance of the town from the important centers, Philadelphia and New York, involved heavy charges for freight and shipping.

As Daniels and Blumenthal were to remain in the town for nine years, its relations to the town and the Fund will serve as a fair example of the difficulties that were involved in the industrial

development of Woodbine and the length the Trustees were willing to go to promote the welfare of the town. The Fund agreed to lease them two factories for five years, rent free. Light and power was to be furnished without charge for a period of three years. The sewing machines of the firm were to be repaired at the expense of the Fund. They were also given the free use for three years of ten houses in the farming section and four town houses for their workmen, as well as ten to twelve building lots. In return, the firm was to employ a minimum of fifty residents of Woodbine, to pay $600 weekly to the workmen in case only one factory was busy and another $200 a week should work be secured for the second factory. In the latter eventuality, the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company was to pay the wages of a supervisor in the second factory for three months.

Daniels and Blumenthal commenced operations shortly after this agreement was signed, in May 1896. The outlook became again promising. The entrance of this concern into the town was reflected in the immediate increase of the population. Within a few months the firm was paying wages to the extent of a thousand dollars a week. In the following spring, Reichow reported that the settlers had saved up $8,000.

Efforts to attract other industries and firms to Woodbine did not abate. The town was still in the uncomfortable condition of dependence upon one concern, in this case Daniels and Blumenthal. The latter were quick to realize the situation. We find them, early in 1897, seeking more property, demanding further concessions, this time for more free lots for houses to be built for workmen and for mortgage loans on these houses. The Trustees balked, however, when a request was made for the reimbursement of losses claimed to have been due to poor workmanship, for the repair of machines said to have been damaged by learners and for a sum of money for each house that was to be erected by them. These demands were strongly objected to, on the ground that such concessions would merely lead to further pressure.

There was only one answer—new industries. Following the failure to secure a shoe factory and a tannery, arrangements were finally concluded with the Universal Lock Company, in 1899, to transfer their plant to Woodbine. The Woodbine Land and Improvement Company undertook to build a factory for this firm at a cost of $12,000, which was secured from the J.C.A. They were to employ Woodbine residents, their payroll to be not less than $500 weekly. The Fund agreed to advance on mortgage seventy

per cent of the cost of erecting twelve new houses for their workmen.

The First Decade

With the opening of the new century, after a decade of heartbreaking struggles and frustrations, the colony was more or less established. Its permanence seemed assured. At this time it presented a hopeful picture of growth that was in striking contrast with the colony at its founding—a barren wasteland with hardly a sign of habitation.

Of the original tract which comprised the settlement, 1800 acres were cleared and improved; in the town site 275 acres were cleared. Fourteen miles of streets had been laid out, four miles of which had been graded and gravelled; there were twelve miles of farm roads in excellent condition. There was a population now of over 1400, with one hundred and sixty Jewish families and thirty-four non-Jewish families. Half of the residents owned their homes. Of the twenty business men in the colony, fourteen owned the properties they occupied. Sixteen of the fifty farms had been entirely cleared of incumbrance and deeds given; the remainder were under lease and the farmers were rapidly extinguishing their indebtedness.

Woodbine's public buildings, at this time, comprised a synagogue, erected at a cost of $7,000; a $2,500 Baptist Church, for which the ground had been donated by the Fund; a $2,500 public bathhouse; and two school buildings, one built by the colony at a cost of $2,500 and the other by the township at the cost of $2,000. A hotel was situated opposite the railroad station. The total valuation of property in Woodbine was a quarter of a million dollars, of which three-fifths was owned by the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company, and the remainder by other parties. The value of the farm property was $75,000.

The industries were led by the Daniels and Blumenthal plant, a three-story structure which employed 168 hands, with a weekly payroll of $1,000. In little over a year, this firm had built thirty-four houses for their workers at a cost of $525 each. The other industries included the Universal Lock Company, which employed forty hands and had a weekly payroll of $360; the Woodbine Machine and Tool Company, which employed twenty-eight hands and had a weekly payroll of $225; two small clothing manufacturers; and the Woodbine Brick Company.

The average earnings of each family on the tract was a little over $500 a year. Half of the townspeople were employed in the clothing factories, one-fourth in machine shops, one-eighth in the building trades. The remainder were storekeepers, teachers, etc. There was only one policeman.

As for the Agricultural School, the new structure was about to be completed. It was of brick, three stories high, and was to contain, among other features, a gymnasium, bowling alley, bicycle storage room, chemical laboratory, photographic room, and an assembly room to seat about three hundred persons. De Hirsch Hall was to remain as the boarding-house of the teachers and students.

The school now had ninety-six students, several of them girls; the latter, in addition to their educational studies, were being instructed in housekeeping, dairying and floriculture. The school farm contained 270 acres, of which 175 were under cultivation. Concerning the dairy, it "provokes the admiration of all who visit it, perhaps there is none in the State where the sanitary conditions are more carefully looked after." There was a silo with a capacity of eighty tons, a feed room, cows and a large creamery with the latest improved machinery for the treatment of milk and making butter. In the raising of poultry, "the school has scored a great success. There are four large poultry houses, and four more being constructed. These are all models in arrangements and appointments . . ." The *Rural New Yorker*, in a full page story on its front page, June 1900, emphasized the fact that "this institution has had a marked effect in improving the agriculture of the whole region."

Indeed, the Annual Report of the School in 1900 proudly announced: "The Woodbine Agricultural School stands now as the leading institution of secondary education in the United States. The Paris Exhibition loudly proclaimed to the world our supremacy. We received a silver medal for our Pomological Exhibit and the Grand Prix for Secondary Education." The standing of the School in the county and state was also high. The Governor of New Jersey appointed a special agent to report its operations for his next annual report to the State Legislature. In 1896, the School had a large number of exhibits representing the average of its farm products at the Cape May County Fair. First premiums were awarded for all the exhibits except corn, and for this a second premium was given. A year later, the School exhibited at the Annual Fair of the Hebrew Literature Society of Philadelphia, where several diplomas were awarded; and at the Washington Feather Club in Washington, N. J., where it received first and second premiums for poultry. The Board of Education of New York City,

considering the establishment of agricultural schools for truants, applied for advice and cooperation to the Woodbine School.

The Bureau of Statistics of the State of New Jersey reported that "a very close and thorough inspection of every part of this colony, both as to its agricultural and industrial conditions, gives conclusive evidence of the industry, thrift and economy of the people."[5]

The opinion was confirmed by other items of interest. Outside capital was investing in Woodbine. The Dennisville Building Association, which had a capital of $60,000, exhausted all its funds in loans on Woodbine real estate, in advances up to March, 1899. Until then no manufacturer had felt inclined to invest capital in Woodbine. Now the Universal Lock Company had invested over $5,000 in a factory building and in equipment, on ground to which it did not even have title.

In farming Woodbine was not behind the rest of the county. "It may be said to lead in production of fine fruits and vegetables," an official report stated. By 1909 Woodbine was to effect the economic result of putting into cultivation about a thousand acres of wild land and improving it to the value of $75,000 to $100,000.

The town now had two public schools with an enrollment of 180 pupils, a kindergarten with forty-five pupils, a night school with thirty-five pupils, and the Agricultural School with about one hundred pupils—altogether five educational institutions with seventeen instructors and 360 pupils. Remember that the population of the colony was only about 1400. Thus, educationally, Woodbine could compare favorably with any other community of the same size in the nation.

Visiting the town at this time, Jacob Riis compared the conditions with those on the East Side he had portrayed in his works:[6]

> The hopeless disorder, the discouragement of the slum, was nowhere. The children were stout and rosy. They played under the trees, safe from the shop till the school gives up its claim to them . . . In the factories, I had noticed the absence of the sullen looks that used to oppress me in the slums and sweatshops.
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> A woman with a strong face and shrewd brown eyes, rose from an onion bed she had been weeding, to open the gate.
>
> "Come in," she said, "and be welcome." . . . Mrs. Breslow and her husband left home for cause. He was a carpenter. Nine months they starved in a Forsythe Street tenement, paying $15 a month for three rooms. This cottage is their own. They have paid for it ($800) since they came out with the first settlers. The lot was given to them, but they bought the adjoining one to raise truck on.
>
> "Gott sei dank," says the woman, with shining eyes, "we owe nothing and pay no rent, and are never more hungry."

Educationally, Woodbine was making history, in a modest way. During the first year the few families had been compelled to send their children to the schools of the neighboring hamlet, Dennisville, some three miles distant. The following winter an old house near the railroad was converted into a school building which was used for the teaching of the children in the day time and for adult evening classes in English. "The first public school teacher (a native of Dennisville) had a rather hard time of it," Mrs. Sabsovich recalled,[7] "as a number of the pupils were immigrants, newly arrived, and teacher and children spoke different languages. We might have engaged a teacher of Russian descent. But so earnest was my husband's desire to Americanize the youth of Woodbine and to inculcate in them the true American spirit, that only one whose forefathers were natives would satisfy him."

In 1893 one of the cottages built by the Fund was used as an additional school. Later it became necessary to put up a two-room schoolhouse in the center of the town, which was attended by 100 children. The first kindergarten opened in Cape May County was organized in Woodbine at this time. Prof. Sabsovich, watching his school developments closely, stressed the fact that in a purely American community of the size of Woodbine the influence of the home was usually greater than that of the school. The reverse was true of Woodbine, where the school was necessarily to become the carrier of Americanization.

Part 2.—The Agricultural School

A Student Strike

A new home for the School was under construction when the century dawned. The summer before it opened a strike broke out among the students, who aired their grievances in the press. Prof. Sabsovich explained his difficulties—there were not sufficient instructors nor adequate supervision over the boys, who were probably working too hard on the school acreage. As a result an Advisory Committee was appointed for guidance and control. On this committee were Messrs. Hackenburg, Abraham and Benjamin of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Professor E. E. Voorhees of the New Jersey State College Farm, Dr. B. H. Phillips, President of the Cape May County Agricultural Society, James J. Reeves, President of the South Jersey Academy, and Morris Rosenbaum of Philadelphia. In September, the first formal control and supervision of the student body was inaugurated with the engagement of Dr. Boris D. Bogen as Principal of the School.

Problems of Cost and Curriculum

There were enrolled 120 pupils, and the expenses for the year 1900-1901 were estimated at $43,000. The agricultural advisor of the J.C.A., Prof. Tisserand, reviewing the curriculum and the costs, criticised the program of the School as too elaborate. The School, he thought, was attempting to emulate the great agricultural colleges of the United States, when the aim should be simply to produce good rural workmen, able in the course of time to become small landowners or farmers. The per capita cost—about $390 a pupil—was too high, particularly as a reduction to $180 per pupil had been promised when the registration reached one hundred pupils. Prof. Sabsovich countered this criticism by declaring that the value of an educational institution could not be measured by dollars and cents, and that, in any case, the cost of instruction was low when compared with that of the Hebrew Technical Institute and the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. Though the J.C.A. voted the appropriation of slightly over $30,000 asked, the two issues of cost and curriculum remained matters of considerable friction between the Fund and the J.C.A.

In 1901, although 158 pupils had been registered (of whom 18 were girls), only 26 had been graduated from the School. This led, the following year, to the further raising of entrance requirements, age and physical condition being emphasized. This eliminated the orphans who, let out from asylums usually at the age of fourteen, had been one of the chief sources of pupils in the toddling period of the School. Nevertheless, by 1903, there were 112 pupils attending the School. Not only did the School prepare immigrants for running their own farms but it was instrumental in securing employment for graduates. To the twenty-six members of the class of 1902, for example, positions were offered by no less than 143 farmers from twelve states, including Georgia, Wisconsin, Florida and Washington. Of these applications for graduates, 77 were for dairy farms, 31 for poultry farms, and nine for gentlemen's farms.

Continually confronting the School was the perplexing problem of curriculum. We have noted the experimental steps taken in 1893, and the enlargement of the course of study each year from 1894 to 1898. For the years 1900 and 1901, Prof. Sabsovich made what he called his first attempt in the direction of a course of study in practical agriculture. The abandonment of one of the original entrance requirements—a common school education—necessitated the institution of a Primary Department "for those whose previous education does not qualify them to begin the study

of agricultural science proper." A Scientific Department was designed for those with special skill or private preparation. At the request of Messrs. Benjamin and Bijur, the curriculum was further revised the next year. This time, there were three courses: Primary, for one year; Intermediate, for six months; and Scientific, for six months. The total period was two years and three months, instead of three years. Practical instruction was emphasized.

Inner Conflict

Not all agreed with Mr. Tisserand or Mr. Schiff who sided with him. Prof. Sabsovich clearly favored the inclusion of theoretical subjects in the curriculum and the professional road in agriculture many of the students were taking. This underlying conflict of aims was described by Dr. Bogen, the principal of the School, during this period, in a bitterly-worded presentation of the situation:[1]

> If we entertained dreams of a contented Jewish peasantry, we were soon disillusioned. In our school were graduating young men who did not want to remain toilers of the field all their days. Being Jews they could not be classified by a mere dictum: "You must be forever diggers of the soil."
>
> After working a due period as laborers in the fields, our graduates began to look beyond the horizon, and reached for the less laborious stations of the agricultural industry. They went to agricultural laboratories, they entered higher institutions of agricultural learning, they sought positions in the Department of Agriculture at Washington; some deserted agriculture altogether.
>
> Our directors were distressed. This had not been their plan. They had thought of a contented Jewry working in the fields, tilling the acres of others and, eventually, their own. They suggested perhaps our method of education was all wrong. We had put visions in the eyes of these boys and, as soon as they could, they lifted their eyes from the ground to follow these visions. There must be a change in the program.
>
> They said we must simplify the course to avoid the false ideas which had entered the heads of the boys and were leading them to pursue ambitions far from the soil. Our course was three years long; we must cut it to one year. Our course was scientific; we must no longer expose the students to higher educational and social influences. Thereafter the work of education must be altogether in the field where they would become inured to the lot of the humble toiler and be content, not knowing any better. Thus we would bring up a toiling class.
>
> Such a program was based on the social philosophy of a great many philanthropically inclined people in that time. The immigrant was a child who must be carefully kept in his place. His benefactors knew better than he what was good for him. These benefactors had made substantial business successes and, therefore, felt they were the competent guardians of the newcomers. These immigrants were distant relatives whom one must look after carefully lest they do things that might bring the family to shame. From their lofty elevations their benefactors looked down upon them and built settlements for them; but in the end they were to settle their problems for themselves.

To shut out light and to curb ambition is not the function of a teacher. My relations with my superior officers became strained. There were other discouragements as well. My young dream of a righteous American community had come to disillusion. My efforts to make the school a decent influence in the life of the community of Woodbine did not always receive that warm embrace that my enthusiasm thought they deserved. I resigned.

A Survey

New troubles arose in 1904. Not only did Dr. Bogen resign, but practically the entire staff of instructors. Reasons for this wholesale resignation were advanced by Prof. Sabsovich: poor salaries, too much work and responsibility. The non-Jewish teachers wanted to be among their own people. In April, another strike broke out among the students, and Prof. Sabsovich discharged 31 boys for non-compliance with rules which they had resented. These strikes were laid to the fact that the pupils were older than formerly (although disturbances did occur previously with the younger boys), to turnover of instructors, too much paternalism and lack of strict discipline, and the fact that the boys were not used to farm work. The strikes were to continue throughout the School's history.

With conditions in such a chaotic state decisive corrective steps were imperative. A separate Board of Trustees for the School was created, with Dr. Goldman as its President. He added, as members, Dr. Julius Sachs and Dr. Charles Leete, both expert educators. With Charles S. Phelps, a former professor of agriculture at the Connecticut State Agricultural College as paid advisor, they made an investigation of the situation.

It was ten years since the Agricultural School had been founded, and this survey was the most thorough since its inception. Dr. Goldman pursued it with his customary zeal and desire to get at the basic facts. Characteristically, he analyzed the aims of the School, and how these were hindered or furthered by the curriculum, the teaching staff, the administration, etc. Early in 1905, the investigating Committee made its report. Serious defects were pointed out:

1. There was a lack of clear aims and a continual shifting of these aims. "It seems to me," Dr. Goldman observed, "that the aim we ought, primarily, to keep in mind is not that of attracting the greatest number of pupils but rather of securing a select number who give promise and show a desire of being trained into competent farm hands." The policy was "make-shift", "tentative", and "inconsistent."

2. Poor administrative management and control hampered progress. The blame was placed squarely on the shoulders of Sabsovich, who was no pedagogue. However, excuse was found in the multifarious burdens put upon him in running Woodbine.

3. The curriculum was too frequently reorganized. The course of study was too impractical, too scientific. It did not suit the aim of "training practical, intelligent farmers who will be fitted to act as valued assistants to other farmers or prepared to profitably work farms of their own."

4. The per capita cost was too high. There were too few graduates—only 95 in the decade. The school was exploited by pupils "for the purpose of securing a general education free of charge as to tuition, board and clothing, but with no intention of becoming farmers."

5. The teaching staff was poor, inadequate, and received insufficient salaries. The turnover was too great. Of the 44 who had been at the School from 1899 to 1904, 18 had left to take better positions, 7 had been engaged only for one term, 6 were discharged because of incompetency, and 3 left to take post-graduate courses.

6. Discipline among the boys was "simply atrocious." This "reduces the usefulness of the School almost to a minimum." Equipment was inadequate, the building unsatisfactory.

Almost all of these criticisms were unfortunately to stand for another ten years, and at regular intervals they were to be aired by some of the Trustees as well as by investigators.

Primarily, Dr. Goldman thought, the aim of the School should be to graduate at least fifty to seventy-five students each year. This would make the Fund's annual expenditure of from $35,000 to $40,000 worth while. Moreover, new requirements should be instituted in selecting pupils so that only those eighteen years of age or over, with an elementary education, would be admitted. The Primary Department should be abolished, through eliminating those who come to the School merely to learn English. The Home Department, which had been causing the administration an enormous amount of trouble, should be dropped, the students to be boarded instead with Woodbine residents.

The curriculum, it was further advocated, should be revised with the aid of experts connected with the leading agricultural schools of the country. A two-year course seemed advisable, matriculation being permitted only in the spring. The work was to be divided into field work during the summer and class-room theoretical work during the winter. During the second summer, the boys were to be sent to farmers for experience, their earnings being turned over to the School. The second winter would again be devoted to theoretic work tending, however, to strictly practical ends, although civics and American ideals were to be taught. Finally, positions for the boys were to be found by agents to be employed. Farms would be found, for graduates who wished them, by the Jewish Agricultural Society.

On the heels of this exhaustive, valuable survey of the School, an administrative reorganization was effected. The high regard of

the Trustees for Prof. Sabsovich was expressed in his promotion, in June 1905, to the position of General Agent. Dr. Harold H. Ballard was appointed Superintendent of the School, but resigned after a brief term and was replaced by Henry W. Geller in May 1906.

As a result of the changes recommended, the dormitory was closed and a one year's course was adopted. Industrial methods of instruction were introduced by assigning to each pupil one-eighth of an acre of ground for raising vegetables and one-half acre for raising field crops. Class studies were limited to two hours a week, and consisted exclusively of agricultural subjects. After six months' experience with the new curriculum, the Agricultural School Committee extended the course to two years in order to give the students an opportunity during the second year to raise commercial crops on the so-called model farm of about seventy-five acres attached to the School.

Removal or Abandonment?

The report of Dr. Goldman's committee projected two questions before the Fund: Was the location of the School at Woodbine at the root of all its troubles? Should the School be continued? Professor Phelps investigated this matter, and reported that the isolation of Woodbine from large cities made it difficult to get and retain good teachers. The un-American environment was unfavorable to the boys. Moreover, the soil at Woodbine, in his opinion, was most unsatisfactory for the work of the School.

The investigation became general, and embraced in addition to the two questions already considered, several others: Was a School for Russian and Roumanian Jewish boys at all feasible, considering their lack of experience in agriculture? If it was, at what age should boys be accepted? What modifications in the curriculum should be made? Apparently the report of Dr. Goldman's committee had definitely answered little, and important problems still remained unsettled.

Late in the year, the Advisory Committee met to discuss the matter. Surveys made by various experts showed that Woodbine soil appeared to be satisfactory. Regarding the feasibility of a school for Russian and Roumanian boys, Prof. Sabsovich showed that 25% of the School's former pupils were adhering to agricultural pursuits. This was considered by Prof. Phelps as quite above the average, indicating that a demand existed for a properly conducted agricultural school. Other evidence that Russian and Roumanian Jews were taking to farming, as manifested by

reports from the Jewish Agricultural Society, was presented. It was therefore agreed by the Advisory Committee that the effort in this direction was not to be abandoned "at this promising moment."

Was Woodbine the proper locality for conducting an agricultural school? Prof. Phelps' opinion that the undertaking was serious in any case, and made almost insurmountable at Woodbine, was concurred in by the rest of the Advisory Committee, with the exception of Prof. Sabsovich. Furthermore, the cost of reconstruction at Woodbine would hardly differ from that of building a new plant elsewhere. The Advisory Committee voted emphatically in favor of advising the Trustees to remove the School. But the intention of Dr. Goldman to resign as head of the special school committee held up action.

When the Trustees of the Fund met shortly after to consider the Advisory Committee's recommendation, Mr. Schiff advocated the abandonment of the School. He pointed out that during the eleven years of the School's existence, from $400,000 to $500,000 had been spent on it. The net result of this investment was 120 young men who were engaged in farming. This, Mr. Schiff felt, was a manifestation of failure. He advocated the establishment of a bureau for placing boys on farms to serve an apprenticeship for a term of years; as a further inducement, at the end of this period, they would be aided in entering an agricultural college. Under the present conditions, he did not believe the Trustees could conscientiously continue the School. Messrs. Hackenburg, Bijur and Mayer Sulzberger argued that it was bad policy to abandon it, and thus acknowledge the failure of the Fund's endeavors to advance farming by Jews. The motion to abandon the School was lost.

After the retirement of Dr. Goldman, due to overwork, a new committee to take charge of the School's affairs was appointed early in 1906. This consisted of Mr. Eugene S. Benjamin as Chairman, Mr. Alfred Jaretzki and Prof. Morris Loeb of the J.A.S., and Messrs. Siegbert, S. G. Rosenbaum and Fleisher representing the Fund. The spirit of the committee evidently was to give the School a new trial, after seriously putting into effect the most important changes shown necessary by the criticisms of Dr. Goldman's committee. For the present, no radical changes were to be made. But the continuance of the School was still unsettled, and discussion of the problem continued through 1906.

The new committee favored making a stronger effort. Alterations to cost between $12,000 and $15,000 were decided upon. But here the Jewish Colonization Association came on the scene, and

again projected the question of continuance into the open. When it granted a subvention of $27,600 for the year 1906, the statement was made that it was done in order not to place the Fund in an embarrassing position. For a long time, it had considered that the expenses were excessive, and decided that the School could no longer count upon receiving its subvention.

The Fund's Executive Committee voted to continue the School "for the present," and the J.C.A. was asked to appropriate two-thirds of the running expenses of the School for 1907, the appropriation not to exceed $20,000. Grudgingly, the J.C.A. granted the subsidy, but added, "The Council thinks you ought to take active measures in closing the School."

Debate on continuance kept on ceaselessly. At the next meeting of the Trustees, Judge Sulzberger urged the retention of the School as an absolute factor in encouraging and developing Jewish farming in America, particularly in view of the large immigration of Russian Jews caused by the revolution in Russia, and the large number of them congregating in seaport towns. Mr. Schiff too felt that the discontinuance of the School would "greatly disappoint American Judaism." Once more it was voted to continue the School.

The J.C.A. Suggests Changes

Professor Loeb was asked to represent the Fund at the annual meeting of the J.C.A. in July 1907, in Paris, to present the case for the School. Meanwhile the discussion continued through correspondence between Mr. Benjamin and Professor Tisserand, who was described by Professor Loeb as "undoubtedly a considerable authority." The latter outlined the alternatives: making Woodbine an "apprentice farm"; cutting down expenses to $12,000 or $14,000, instead of the proposed $30,000; utilizing all the funds assigned in scholarships, the young immigrants to be placed as apprentices in good farms, kept preferably by Hebrews who would be compensated for instruction to these apprentices. With the same money, on this system, he argued, two hundred instead of seventy boys could be helped.

Late in 1907, Dr. Sonnenfeld, Director of the J.C.A., visited the United States. After conferring with the Trustees, he stated his conviction that it was necessary to continue the School. Subsequently the J.C.A. appropriated $20,000 yearly for the next three years—exactly what the Fund had asked for. But the J.C.A. added, "we do not pledge ourselves to continue the subsidy later."

Schalit's Criticisms

As the first direct observation of conditions in the United States by an authorized representative of the J.C.A., the report of A. L. Schalit, in January 1911, was significant as a statement of the working of the School at Woodbine from a European standpoint. Trenchantly criticizing the School, in language fresh, vivid and at times biting, Schalit conceived the School as a "sort of agricultural factory taking as raw material city children with no ideas of farming and devoid of any natural inclination for the life of a farmer."

He summarized the history of the School:

> Complete lack of purpose in the system of instruction, a haphazard collection of instructors, injudicious selection of pupils, absolute want of consistency in the life and development of the School, this is approximately the zigzag course pursued by the institution. Now and then, to enhance the program, heroic-comic events; strikes of pupils, revolts, proclamations, and as a distant echo, flaming editorials in the Yiddish newspapers of New York, interference from the New York office, arbitrations, compromises, etc. Very interesting perhaps, but not in the least agricultural.
>
> The great, the chief merit of Woodbine during the first years of its existence was its mere existence. Without mentioning the good effect of such a school in non-Jewish circles, government, public opinion, etc. the institution has had the great merit of helping to keep up by its existence the Jewish agricultural idea through the early period, the critical period of growth. Besides, in spite of all, the School contributed during the first years of its existence towards the production of a certain number of young men at present professors in prominent agricultural schools, government experts, veterinary surgeons, etc.

Some new points were brought out which were of unusual interest. These were principally the following:

1. Only about ten students each year eventually really became farmers, at a cost of $4,000 each. This was compared with the results of the Farm Bureau of the J.A.S., where 466 men were placed as farm hands, at a total cost of $700.
2. The situation in agricultural education has changed within the fifteen years since the School was established. At that time an agricultural school of the Woodbine type did not exist, but since then "agricultural schools were springing up like mushrooms in all parts of the Union." The short winter courses in agricultural schools were favored. Two of these courses would cost but $200. Those showing special ability should be placed in higher agricultural schools, and expert agriculturists thus created.
3. The non-Jewish character of the School was criticized, the faculty being entirely Christian.

In no way did the report help support the position of the Baron de Hirsch Fund on the School. Schalit's conclusion was that "There is absolutely no reason for keeping up a Jewish agricultural school in the United States."

In reply to Mr. Schalit, Mr. Benjamin pointed out that not ten

per cent but sixty per cent of the students went into agriculture. The cost of the School should never be based upon its per capita attendance, but the attitude of all concerned should be to develop the School and thereby the possibility of creating a Jewish agricultural class. The short winter courses at agricultural schools, while admirable, were unsuited for those not residing in farming communities. The Woodbine School teaches the rudiments to city boys who have not been reared on a farm. The work done by the Woodbine School and the class of people reached, could not be accomplished by any agricultural school or college, nor by the Farm Labor Bureau. The apprenticeship plan advocated by Schalit was not in vogue in this country; the average farmer was not sufficiently educated to be of any service to an apprentice. On the other hand, the Woodbine School insists that students must devote a year to severe practical training and a moderate amount of theoretical instruction. As for the faculty, an attempt would be made to get Jewish instructors. Finally, Mr. Benjamin admitted that the School had always been handicapped by its location, inadequate equipment, and insufficient means.

The J.C.A. remained doubtful of the advisability of continuing its support of the School. Despite its antagonism, it granted an annual subvention of $20,000 for a period of three years—1912, 1913 and 1914.

Reorganization

A student strike and a critical situation with regard to the employment of instructors led to another reorganization in early 1912. As suggested by Mr. Benjamin, the Agricultural School Committee was increased from four to ten members, the additional members being Philadelphia residents, to achieve a greater degree of supervision. It included Samuel S. Fleisher, Chairman; and David W. Amram, Secretary; Messrs. Benjamin, Jaretzki, Fels, Lipman, Stern, Potsdamer, Weyl, and Rothschild. Two subcommittees were organized—a Committee on Education, having charge of the selection of instructors, schedules of studies, discipline, etc., and a Committee on House and Supplies.

This new Agricultural School Committee set quickly to work. Three competent instructors were engaged. Mr. Geller, who had resigned as superintendent, was replaced by Mr. Louis J. Cohen. Later, in June, Mr. Robert D. Maltby was engaged as Dean of the School. The strictly technical instruction, the responsibility for the agricultural work, the progress in the various working departments of the School—all these were put under the supervision of Mr. Maltby. The business end of the management was placed in the hands of Mr. Cohen. For a time this arrangement worked fairly well.

A system of school discipline based on self-government by the students was introduced. Grievances now had a proper channel for redress. The executive committee of student supervisors watched that the rules and regulations of the School were not violated. It was not long before the students were publishing the "H.A.S. Record," a monthly paper, conducted with real ability and entirely independent from the School management. The Alumni Association, which had existed only in name from 1900 to 1905, was reorganized. Dr. Jacob G. Lipman was elected president, and a banquet was held later in the year in New York which was attended by over sixty of the alumni.

Thus the year 1912 was one of new vitality in the School. Beside the dual management and student self-government, a number of other activities helped raise hopes for the School. Friction between the management and pupils was removed by the installation of an assignment chart giving each boy an equal opportunity in each department to which he was assigned. Another innovation which greatly improved the teachings was the introduction of lecture sheets. It had been extremely difficult to secure text-books to suit the special type of students and the School's demands. Now the department heads worked out sets of lectures, in simple non-technical language, which were later retained by students after graduation.

The need for a rabbi and social worker was felt by the people of Woodbine. A rabbi would not only conduct religious services, but also exercise a good moral influence over the students, as well as upon the young men of Woodbine. Moreover, he would teach the young people of Woodbine, after school hours, Hebrew and Jewish history and conduct religious services. The Fund, therefore, made a special appropriation of $1,000 board free for Woodbine religious instruction, which was to be expended under the supervision of the Agricultural School Committee.

The commercial features of the farm were finally eliminated by the School Committee. From now on, the practical work of the School in the field, stables, etc. was to be limited to educational purposes only.

Evidently the institution was too small to supply the needs of the steadily increasing student body in 1912. Applicants for ad-

mission totaled 664 during the year, of which only sixty-nine could be handled. This was practically the capacity of the dormitory building. On the first of the year, fifty students had been enrolled, and with those admitted during the year, a total of 119 attended the School. Of this number sixteen were discharged because they were not adapted to the work, thirty-six were graduated and took postions, sixty-seven remained in the School. Applications for the year had been so numerous that advertisements inviting students to the School had to be discontinued. Of the applicants, 190 were interviewed in the New York office; each was required to deposit $5 in order to have his name placed on the preferred waiting list. A medical examination was also compulsory.

It is interesting to note that during the year eleven former pupils of the School were assisted by the J.A.S. in settling on their own farms. The School also had a waiting list of employers. A month before graduation, positions had been procured for every graduate.

Regular monthly meetings of the School Committee took place in Philadelphia, and the value of Mr. Benjamin's suggestion of a local committee became apparent. Members of the Committee made as many as thirty-eight visits to the Agricultural School, and were in close touch with the administration, the faculty and the student body. Results were manifest.

A number of problems came to the surface during the year, unsettled problems which recurred year after year. There was the curriculum—should a one or two-year course be given? For the two-year course, it was argued that it would enable students to specialize in specific lines such as poultry raising and dairying; thus they would get better positions and lift themselves from the ranks of common farm laborers.

Another pressing problem was that of increasing the student body. The facilities, at that time, accommodated about seventy-five students. Should the work be expanded, to double or treble this number of Jewish young men who could take advantage of the School's training? Though it would increase expenses, this expansion would cost considerably less per capita. It was particularly recommended in view of the larger aspects of the work pursued in the Woodbine School; the School not only benefited the pupils individually, but helped the Jewish cause in the country. In support of the idea of expansion, moreover, was the great demand for the training, as shown by the large number of applications that year. The present per capita cost was too high—$700 per pupil. By trebling the number of students, this would be reduced to less than half. Finally, the facilities for instruction would need comparatively

little enlargement for maintaining the greater number. Opposing expansion, Mr. Benjamin pointed out that while the School benefited a comparatively small number of individuals, it was of great importance as an illustration that the Jewish young man is willing and able to become a tiller of the soil; the truth of the matter lay more in the thorough and efficient equipment of the students for this vocation than in numbers. Terminating the discussion of these problems, the School Committee, upon the suggestion of Mr. Schiff, was asked to prepare a comprehensive budget for the School on the basis of 75 and 150 pupils, to ascertain what percentage of one-year and two-year students return to the city, and to consider the desirability of reducing the course to one year.

Of profound interest to the Trustees, particularly at this time, was to learn what had become of the former students of the School? Would results show that the School was worth while?

A Census of Graduates

In 1912, Mr. Maurice Fels undertook on his own account the first accurate and careful follow-up of graduates; or of those connected at least six months with the school. Financed by Mr. Fels, the investigation was made by Harry Lubin, member of the class of 1905 of the Woodbine School, and an agriculturist and statistician. It was not until 1916 that the survey neared completion. However, the investigation revealed, in its first report in 1913, that 900 students had been connected with the School, of which 649 had attended for at least six months. Of these, 202 had been heard from, 125 being engaged in agriculture—about 60% of all those heard from. Those following agriculture included 96 doing practical farming, seven veterinarians, nine professors and teachers, and thirteen students in agricultural schools. Twenty former students owned their own farms, three rented farms. One former student was a director of an agricultural experiment station, one was a professor in an agricultural college, one an editor of an agricultural paper. In July 1914, revised data showed that 762 students had attended at least six months, of whom 285—or 37%—were known to be in agricultural lines. This was considered a remarkable showing, a record of which even an agricultural college could well boast, especially when the material coming to the School from the city was considered.

One of the conclusions of this investigation was that "a much larger proportion of graduates would remain in farm work if a determined effort were made to assist in some feasible way in start-

ing towards farm ownership those of our graduates who have been working on farms for a number of years."

That there was a widespread demand for agricultural training was concluded, later, when it was shown that from March 1915 to January 1916, there had been 745 inquiries for admission and 385 applications.

Committee of Ten

Reports of the progress of the School, and of the new spirit felt in it, met with an expression of pleasure from the J.C.A. in 1913. In spite of this success, the question of the necessity for the School was again brought up by the Trustees. Mr. Schiff thought that the School was costing too much and should be liquidated. In its place, scholarships should be established in State secondary schools. He did not think that the Jewish farmer was in any way substantially benefited by the Woodbine School. But Mr. Hackenburg contended that the number of applicants to the School had considerably increased; that at least one-third of the graduates of the last few years were in some way engaged in agricultural pursuits. He suggested that the School be enlarged, rather than removed from Woodbine, where the settlement would be hurt. Mr. Elkus was of the opinion that it would be a waste of money to spend any more on further improvement of the School in Woodbine; if an Agricultural School should be maintained, it should be removed to another locality; moreover, if the School were made non-denominational, it might obtain a substantial state appropriation. Mr. Rosenbaum agreed with Mr. Elkus on removal, pointing to the inability to retain teachers in Woodbine. Mr. Kohler terminated the debate by calling attention to the bad effect removal would have upon immigration legislation which was pending at this time.

The upshot was that a committee of ten was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Rosenbaum, Fleisher, Rothschild, Bernheimer and Sabsovich, representing the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Messrs. Jaretzki, Sulzberger and Robinson, for the J.A.S. and Messrs. Amram and Fels, representing the Advisory Board of the School. Mr. Rosenbaum was Chairman.

Substantially the same questions as those considered in 1905 by Dr. Goldman's committee were set up for inquiry. These were: Should the Baron de Hirsch Fund continue to maintain an Agricultural School? Should the School be removed? What would be the effect of the transfer and erection of a new plant upon the Baron de Hirsch Fund? What effect would removal have upon

Woodbine, from the material point of view as well as the educational and social influences? If the Fund were to discontinue the School, what effect would it have on the general question of Jewish immigration? Could the Fund provide adequate agricultural education for Jewish young men through existing secondary State agricultural schools? Only the question of curriculum was omitted from those brought up in 1905.

While the inquiry was in progress, the School continued operating with a moderate degree of success. In the year 1913, 507 inquiries were received, and 314 applicants were interviewed. Of these, 70 were admitted during the year of which only three were found unfit—indicative of the careful method of selection. At the end of the year, there were 58 students attending. The age range was from eighteen to twenty-nine, while half were between eighteen and nineteen. Sixty graduates were sent to their first positions. The Alumni Association now numbered 110 members.

Early in 1914, a preliminary report of the Committee of Ten recommended that in view of the prolonged nature of several of the investigations, the School should be continued for another year. When this committee met jointly with the Agricultural School Committee in Philadelphia subsequently, Chairman Rosenbaum presented the familiar issues and pointed to a new problem that had arisen: the need of a new dormitory and other improvements in the buildings, which would involve a large outlay. Once more the suitability of Woodbine as a location for the School was discussed, and the long-familiar reasons for removal reiterated.

The nature of the Woodbine soil had been investigated by the New Jersey Experiment Station, the Department of Agriculture Bureau of Soils, and the soil specialist of Cornell University, and "while it was not found to be rich, it was more suitable for instruction than the heavy soils." Dr. Lipman, requested to prepare a report on the Woodbine soil, later affirmed that it was wholly favorable. He added, however, that "had methods of soil improvement been conducted continuously and persistently at the de Hirsch Agricultural School, the land controlled by this institution would now be in a high state of cultivation. Unfortunately, the frequent changes in management have precluded the following out of systematic soil improvement."

At this meeting it was decided that an experiment would be attempted in apprenticing young men to farmers. The Fund was to try to place at once eight to twelve young men with farmers for training. It had been debated whether such an apprenticeship system, or the placing of young men in secondary schools, would

be substituted in the event the Woodbine School was given up. A committee consisting of Prof. Sabsovich and Leonard G. Robinson, Manager of the J.A.S., was appointed to work out a plan of apprenticeship. It was the general feeling that the experiment might not succeed, in view of the experiences of the Dean of Cornell University and the Director of the California Experiment Station, both of whom had had great difficulty in getting a sufficient number of farmers to consent to accept trainees. Inducements were evidently necessary in getting young men to become farm hands, and it was decided to offer short-course scholarships to those who had worked one year on a farm. Finally, a study was to be made of the various agricultural secondary schools in the United States.

To help solve the problem as to the retention of the Woodbine site, the Agricultural School Committee was asked to prepare a report on the necessary improvements and the cost of maintaining the School with 125 students.

Some months later, at another meeting of the Committee of Ten, Sabsovich's report on the secondary schools "confirmed the belief expressed as to the difficulty of placing Jewish boys in the State secondary schools," on account of the lack of educational and other requirements. Sabsovich's conclusion was that Jewish boys, "being void of any farm knowledge, could not take advantage of these schools without learning somewhere the first steps in practical farming, and this they can learn only in a school specially designed to answer their needs."

When at last the Committe of Ten submitted its final report to the Trustees in October 1914, it placed an unquestioned stamp of approval upon the School. Not only did it recommend that the Baron de Hirsch Fund should continue to maintain the School, and at Woodbine, but it urged that the plant be enlarged and adequately equipped to make possible a substantial increase in the number of students. The need for the School was evidenced by the strong movement toward agriculture among Jews in the United States. The results achieved by the J.A.S. were cited. With the exception of the National Farm School, whose aims were somewhat different and whose course was longer than at Woodbine, there was, at that time, no other institution devoted to the development and encouragement of an agricultural class among the Jews in this country.

As a substitute for the Woodbine School, the secondary agricultural schools were found not to be adapted to the immigrant type of boys trained by the Fund. An alternative, the apprentice

plan, had been tried out and dismissed as impractical and unfeasible. Few farmers had been willing to cooperate. Another reason for continuance, it was pointed out by the committee, was that if the School should be dropped, it would be construed as proof of the failure of the attempt to train Jewish young men for an agricultural life. This would give rise to false conclusions highly prejudicial to the Jewish people. On the other hand, there was a positive and increasing demand for a school such as Woodbine's. The increasing applications were significant, especially when the changing character of the candidates was considered. It was seen that in 1904, but six per cent had been of American birth; in 1914, over one-third. In 1904, 85% were of Russian birth; in 1914, only one-half. Occupational differences were equally significant. In 1904, 18% of the applicants were clerks; in 1914, it was 43%; and whereas in 1904, 32% were tailors and 15% mechanics, in 1914, only 13% were tailors and 3% mechanics.

Lastly, reasons adduced for maintaining the School at Woodbine included the sympathetic environment and the Jewish communal spirit existing in the town. The presence of the School was regarded as a constant stimulus to the development of Woodbine, and its removal would be a severe blow to its progress.

By the irony of fate, when this report of the Committee of Ten came up for consideration of the Trustees early in 1915, the War began to affect the financial situation of the Fund. The J.C.A., too, indicated its inability to continue its subsidy as heretofore. Since large outlays of money were recommended by the Committee, action was deferred.

Friction at the School developed, about this time, as a result of the dual division of powers between the Superintendent and the Dean. Five members of the faculty, including Mr. Cohen, resigned. As a consequence, Joseph A. Rosen, a graduate of Michigan Agricultural College, was engaged as Superintendent, in October 1914. An enthusiastic advocate of removal, Mr. Rosen devoted time and energy in hunting up available sites.

When, in February 1915, the J.C.A. notified the Fund that it had decided to contribute only $15,000 instead of the customary $20,000 to the School budget, the Trustees objected strongly. The J.C.A. was told that it was impossible to continue the work of the schools (this also affected the Trade School) and keep the general scope of the Fund's activities unaffected without the continuation of the full subventions.

When the Trustees met in December 1915, the suggestion of the President that an appropriation of $50,000 be made for renovat-

ing and equipping the School was seriously considered. But at the meeting of the Agricultural School Committee in 1916, the question of removal again came to the fore.

A Committee of four, consisting of Messrs. S. G. Rosenbaum, Bernheimer, Rothschild and Fleisher, and Benjamin, ex-officio, was appointed to consider the matter further. This committee visited the Farmingdale Agricultural School to ascertain whether that institution was suitable for the class of boys attending the School.

The Schiff-Rosenwald Gift

A new development arose in October when a letter from Messrs. Schiff and Rosenwald, dated September 18, 1916, was read, in which an offer was made of a joint gift of $300,000, for the acquisition of a tract of land suitable for an Agricultural School to train at least 150 students. One condition was interesting:

> To provide a safeguard against making a mistake in the relocation of the School and to secure land as to the satisfactory quality of which for the use needed no doubt could ever arise, the undersigned feel they should make it a condition of their gift that before any land is purchased the opinion of competent and disinterested experts, such as could be recommended by the United States Department of Agriculture, or other equally competent and disinterested experts, be secured.

This generous offer was accepted, and a committee consisting of Messrs. Benjamin, S. G. Rosenbaum and Jaretzki was appointed by the Trustees, with power to select and purchase the new location, and erect the buildings.

In November 1916, the Borough Council of Woodbine passed resolutions deploring the plan of removal, on the ground that the School was "one of the foremost attractions and inducements for the upbuilding of Woodbine and an inducement to settlers and home-builders; that the credit of the merchants would be curtailed and it will discourage the settlement in Woodbine, especially of farmers." A hearing was granted to the Board of Trade of Woodbine upon their request, but the Trustees decided to go ahead.

After receiving reports of various agricultural experts, land was purchased at Peekskill, N. Y.

In the meantime, Mr. Rosen had resigned as Superintendent, but remained as a member of the Advisory Committee. Arthur R. Merrill, a former Director of the Lyndon School of Agriculture in Vermont, was appointed in his place.

Though the number of applicants in 1917 had fallen from a normal of 500 to about 50, it was decided to continue the work until the new school at Peekskill opened. Efforts were made in the meantime to secure another suitable school or institution to take over the land and the buildings of the Agricultural School at Woodbine.

The School at Peekskill

Architectural plans for the Peekskill school were prepared and the farms improved for the purpose of land cultivation and the raising of crops. The high cost of building and of labor during these war-days caused postponement of the preparation of the Peekskill plant. Owing to the enlistment of some of the students, and the drafting of others, the number of students had greatly diminished. It was thereupon decided to close the Woodbine School and to transfer the few remaining students to Peekskill.

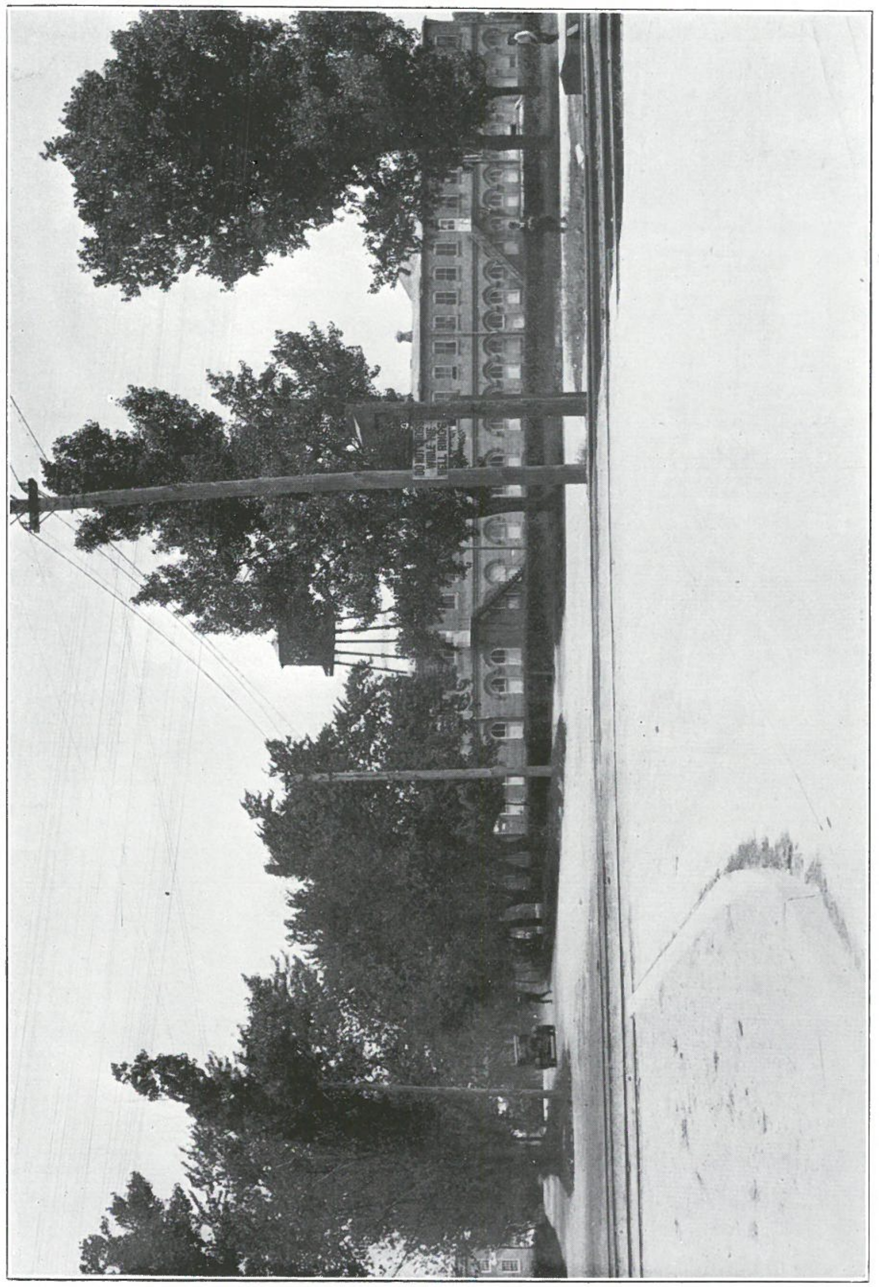
Estimates were given in June 1919, showing that a million dollars would be necessary to carry out the plans of erecting and furnishing the new school. The suggestion was made that additional funds might be obtained from the J.A.S. and the Baron de Hirsch Fund. At a special meeting called for this purpose in June 1919, a letter from Dr. Lipman, a Trustee of the J.A.S., was read, in which he expressed himself as not only opposed to the diversion of funds from farm loans and education, but as believing that the institution was no longer needed in view of the fact that the Jewish youth could be subsidized in suitable institutions, where the Americanization of the foreign-born could be more readily effected. Mr. Percy Straus agreed with him. If immigration stopped, Mr. Straus said there would be no need of a Jewish school. Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger added that under the present conditions he was doubtful of its necessity. On the other hand, Mr. Schiff favored the building of the school, on the ground that it was needed not only for the foreign-born, but for the Americanized Jewish youth as well, and that the school should be re-erected if only to avoid a set-back to the dignity of the American Jews. Messrs. Rosen, Kohler, Bijur and Benjamin contended for various reasons that the School be opened, even for a limited number. It was decided to go on, and to call upon the J.C.A. and the Jewish Welfare Board for contributions. Owing to the refusal of the J.C.A. to participate either by a capital contribution or annual subsidy, the Trustees decided to discontinue the School and ordered the Peekskill property to be sold, and the amounts paid in by Messrs. Schiff and Rosenwald were returned.

With the closing of the Agricultural School at Woodbine there was no further use to be found for its several buildings and it was suggested to the Trustees that an offer of the school property,

together with 60 acres of land, free of all cost, to the State of New Jersey, for the purpose of establishing an asylum or school for feeble-minded children, would be welcomed by the State. This offer was gratefully accepted and in 1921 a bill was introduced to the State Legislature supported by the Governor and the State Institution for Feebleminded Males was created. Apart from the social benefits resulting to the people of the State from the organization of this much needed institution taking care of 500 children, its establishment has been of some material advantage to Woodbine.

An earlier suggestion to promote agricultural education through agricultural scholarships was adopted and $10,000 was appropriated for this purpose. The National Farm School, at first opposed by the Trustees and later grudgingly supported, now received an appropriation of $10,000. This was principally for the improvement of its curriculum and for the payment of higher salaries which would enable the School to engage better teachers.

Thus ended one of the most valuable experiments of the Baron de Hirsch Fund—the organization of the first secondary agricultural school in the United States. The Woodbine Agricultural School was in essence Prof. Sabsovich's creation and his contribution to the cause of Jewish agricultural education. While it undoubtedly suffered from undue expansion, perhaps as a consequence of the inexperience and somewhat visionary enthusiasm of its leader, the chief obstacles to its natural growth were inherent in the problems that beset the organization of Woodbine as a colony. Prof. Sabsovich surrounded himself with able teachers, many of whom attained prominence as research men and teachers of agriculture such as Prof. White of Cornell, Lewis of Rutgers College, Billings of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and Garrigues of the Connecticut Agricultural College. Of the many students of the School who felt his inspiration several, including Dr. Jacob G. Lipman and his brother, Dr. Charles B. Lipman, have attained renown in the field of research and experimentation. Other notable products of the School were Jacob Kotinsky and David Fink, entomologists of the United States Department of Agriculture. Prof. Sabsovich's interests were wider even than the colony and the School he helped organize. For a number of years he was secretary of the Cape May County Board of Agriculture and served as Trustee of the New Jersey State Agricultural College and Experiment Station. As President of the Jewish Social Workers of Greater New York, he was among the first, Dr. Solomon



A Large Factory at Woodbine

Lowenstein noted, to urge the creation of special courses and schools for Jewish social workers and the establishment of a plan for retirement allowances and pensions for them.*

Notwithstanding the large expenditure of money and the great amount of effort and work which was entailed in the development of the School, the venture was never regretted. It met the needs of the young immigrant Jew for an institution of this type at a time when such an agricultural education was not available and when adaptation to the language and customs of the country was not as simple a process as it became in later years.

Part 3.—Industrial Developments

Clearly, the industrial progress of Woodbine was far outstripping the agricultural progress of the rural settlement. In this respect, the ideal of the founders was not being fulfilled; for instead of a farming community with the village as an adjunct, Woodbine was developing into an industrial town with a few outlying farms.

We have seen that the century opened with the following factories operating in the settlement: Daniels and Blumenthal clothing plant, the machine shop of M. L. Bayard, and the Universal Lock Company. The election of Mr. Eugene S. Benjamin to the Board of Trustees at this time was viewed as a wise measure, as he was a member of one of the largest clothing manufacturing firms of New York City. The development of Woodbine as an industrial community was becoming a complicated matter and the Board felt the need of an economic adviser on whose judgment it could rely.

In May 1900, the Universal Lock Company plant was sold to M. L. Bayard, who assumed its contract. Under a renewal of its contract a new brick building for Daniels & Blumenthal, costing $18,000, was placed at the disposal of the clothing manufacturers, rent free for a period of three and a half more years. The agreement required this firm to employ not less than 200 residents and to pay not less than $1800 per week in wages. It also received additional lots free on which the clothing company was to build homes. Early in 1901, the Quaker City Knitting Company began operations. This knitting mill was to have moved into the old Daniels & Blumenthal factory, but a fire destroyed the building. As a result a new brick building was constructed at a cost of $16,500, which the knitting company occupied.

* See tributes to his memory in section entitled "From Those Who Knew Him Best" in Katherine Sabsovich's *Adventures in Idealism*, pp. 157-208.

Difficulties with Daniels and Blumenthal

The Daniels and Blumenthal Company, which had been continuously demanding various concessions since its existence in Woodbine, now found itself in need of funds to maintain its plant. The Fund granted a number of loans during 1901, and this firm continued to pay its weekly wages of $1800 to $2000 to Woodbine workers. But trouble arose with the knitting mill, which the clothing company felt was "in direct competition as to hands." As Daniels and Blumenthal complained to the Fund, "We have enough trouble to get our hands from New York and Baltimore and after we have them, they are taken at pleasure from us. If matters continue in the future as they have in the past, it will simply mean that we will have to discontinue the operation of the plant which we have established. You must kindly understand that since we have taken hold of your colony, we have assisted you in making it what it is." This indicates the arrogant attitude generally taken by the owners of Woodbine's factories in the earlier years. Evidently, the Trustees were browbeaten by them, for Prof. Sabsovich wrote, "It is self-evident that it would almost be a disaster . . . if D. & B. should suddenly break up their shop in Woodbine." Mr. Benjamin, however, regarded the firm as a danger to Woodbine, particularly because of its attempt to corner the labor supply and to dominate the town.

Because of personal differences between the partners, Daniels and Blumenthal did not fare so well in 1902, but the Quaker City Knitting Company almost doubled its production. M. L. Bayard & Co., operating the machine shops, failed, but this proved only a temporary setback to them. A firm manufacturing women's waists and suits, Wiesen, Ingber & Wertheimer, a cigar company, a wood-cutting plant, and a paper box factory started operations in Woodbine. The waist firm received a new factory, as well as power and payroll subventions. All told, the number of people employed in Woodbine factories increased from 387 in 1901, to 419 in 1902.

Legal complications with Daniels and Blumenthal arose when it was found that it had violated its agreement, having collected money from lessees of its houses in excess of mortgage conditions. When its contract expired in August, 1904, the factory was shut down and it was repurchased together with two houses by the Fund. The Fund thereupon made arrangements with Joseph Rabinowitz whereby the factory was rented to him for the term of three years "at one dollar per annum, free of any taxes, insurance and water rent, the factory to be connected up with the Central Power House and supplied with heat, power, light and water free of cost during the three years for ten working hours a day." Daniels and Blumenthal contracted with Rabinowitz to supply him with contract labor work amounting to $1000 a week for three years. Rabinowitz was to employ weekly not less than seventy-five residents.

The only industry in Woodbine not engaged in a needle trade was Bayard & Company, still the steadiest and best wage-payer. It was important in that it afforded an opportunity to young men to learn a mechanical trade. The Woodbine Clothing Company, started by Woodbine residents in September of the previous year with an investment by them of $6,000, employed sixteen workmen. Due to the illness of one of the owners, the waist factory was closed toward the end of the year. An underwear factory existed for 29 weeks, then closed down. A firm manufacturing trousers left Woodbine after less than a year, on the ground that the town lacked a supply of female help.

Labor Troubles

The clothing factory run by Rabinowitz had been granted a loan by the Fund to enable him to become an independent manufacturer and to free himself from Daniels and Blumenthal. Strikes broke out in this factory; one in March, when the knee-pants workers demanded increased wages; and another from May to July, when Rabinowitz refused to employ members of a Workingmen's Association which had been formed. Similar strikes for better wages broke out in the Woodbine Hat Company plant, which had opened late in 1904 and employed 107 hands. It was charged that the manufacturers were "taking advantage of the condition of the people and lowering the wages to a minimum." Prof. Sabsovich had an arbitration committee appointed, and the disputes were finally settled.

It was during this hectic period that a savage attack upon the entire administration of Woodbine was made by J. W. Sullivan, Editor of the Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trades, which was the organ of the United Garment Workers of America. This was in July 1905, following his visit to Woodbine. In a long, detailed article headed "An Example of Assisted Immigration," Mr. Sullivan charged widespread discontent and poverty among the town's inhabitants, and bluntly declared his belief that the administration had allowed the employers to treat the workers as serfs or slaves. He declared that the wage scales in Woodbine were far below those in the large cities, and that, in many instances, the

housing facilities turned over by the Fund to the employers had been used by the latter to obtain a strangle-hold on the workers. "Blumenthal would say to a workman: 'You must buy this house or you get no work.' "

There was enough truth in this misrepresentation of the conditions and motives of the Trustees to give some concern, even though the strike was settled to the satisfaction of the workingmen. The housing situation was admittedly evil, and steps had been taken to end it. Nevertheless, a sober view of the prevailing state of affairs gave little support to Sullivan's contentions, though labor troubles were to continue in Woodbine for many years as indeed everywhere else at that period and in all types of industry in the United States.

What Was the Situation in 1905?

Woodbine's population, by this time, comprised 350 families, numbering about 2000 persons. The four-fold increase, over a period of less than a dozen years, was considered fairly good growth. In the town there were 225 dwelling houses, 109 of which belonged to factory workers, 47 to laborers not in the factories, and 55 to business and professional men. Only fourteen of these were owned by the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company. The average size of a workingman's house was 26 x 14 feet; it contained five rooms and a porch. The houses were acquired with comparatively little capital. Twenty-five or fifty dollars was sufficient to give a workingman possession of a home. The purchase price was secured by mortgages bearing four or five percent interest. The first mortgage was held by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, while loans were secured on second mortgages from private parties or from banks in the neighboring towns. It was mutually agreed that the second mortgages be repaid first. With the exception of twenty-two second mortgages on houses built in 1902, all second mortgages had been paid up. The first mortgage was being paid in small monthly installments ranging from $3.50 to $7.00 a month. As these mortgages had been reduced by over one-third, the people virtually owned their homes.*

Living expenses were naturally low, much less than in the city. Seven or eight dollars a week enabled the unskilled worker with a family of five to live within his means with little deprivation.

* All these mortgages, both first and second, have been paid off since. Neither the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company nor the Fund has any mortgages today, except a few placed in the past five years on large cottages or for alterations on business properties.

The skilled laborer, earning from eleven to twelve dollars a week, enjoyed quite some comfort. For fifty cents a week he had electricity in each of his rooms and town water in his kitchen. Many of the workingmen cultivated their gardens, the product of which supplemented the earnings from the factory. The average wage of each person was $7.34, and it was estimated that the average yearly earnings of a family reached $675.

Eight industries were operating in Woodbine, in which 430 workers were employed. The yearly wages, in 1905, totaled $136,000. All the factory buildings were modern and provided with ample space, light and ventilation. Under these sanitary conditions the workmen were practically insured against the diseases making havoc among the workers in the congested city factories. The good showing of Woodbine over this period explains the hopes of future growth entertained by the Trustees and others.

Expansion

For some years the Bayard Machine and Tool Shop continued to run on an enlarged scale; in 1907 it showed an increase of about $1600 in wages. The hat factory likewise employed more hands. Rabinowitz had terminated his agreement with Daniels and Blumenthal, and had taken on two other partners to found the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company. After a year of operation, they asked for facilities to expand to the capacity of supplying work to fifty additional families in Woodbine; otherwise they would have to leave the town. The Fund therefore agreed to erect a new factory building, equipped with the necessary facilities, at a cost of $25,000 to $30,000, and to grant the company a lease for ten years. The company was to employ a minimum of 150 people.

In the last few months of 1907, the industries slowed up, due to the onset of the depression of that year. The Quaker City Knitting mill failed, due to losses in buying of yarns and to poor management; this threw forty men out of work. Wages paid by all factories decreased from $152,000 in 1906 to $128,000 in 1907.

In the next three years, five new industries came to Woodbine. After the failure of the Quaker City Knitting Company, it was reorganized as the Coast Knitting Company with a capital of $25,000. The Fund advanced on mortgage $10,000 on the factory now belonging to the new firm, and it was further subsidized with free heat and reduced power rates. By 1910 forty people were employed and were earning more than $14,000 a year.

Two other small industries, the Woodbine Knitting Company and the South Jersey Knitting Company, were founded early in

1909 on local enterprise and capital; a small machine shop, the Woodbine Machine Company, and a manufacturer of antique furniture, the South Jersey Antique Furniture Company, started operations not long after.

More Strikes

Labor troubles continued to harass and hinder practically all the major industries. For six months, in 1908, the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company could not settle difficulties with its workmen; and in November of that year, and in July of the following, other strikes broke out. Bayard's machine shop had a ten-day labor squabble in March 1910. At the Woodbine Hat Company, a strike and riot had closed the factory early in 1909; not until the following October was this labor dispute settled by arbitration.

Prof. Sabsovich explained the situation in a letter to Mr. Benjamin, in 1908: "I ascertained that there are altogether too many hands for each and every job. The result is that most of the people claim that they are not able to make a living. This even Mr. Rabinowitz (of the clothing company) did not deny, but claimed in order to run the shop, he must have a reserve army of workers to take the place of those who resign or are discharged. I think this reserve army is at the bottom of the trouble . . . It seems that the leaders during almost every strike are the newcomers who have not yet adjusted themselves to the conditions." Characteristic, however, of the continuous ebb and flow in the prosperity of the town, a year later it was reported that all the factories were working full time, were looking for more hands, and that there was a scarcity of housing facilities for the new families that it was planned to bring to the town. By the end of 1910, it was found that 470 people were employed in the industries and received wages totaling $200,000. The general atmosphere of Woodbine was that of expected continued prosperity.

Depression and Industrial Decline

Beginning with 1911, however, conditions became unsettled and employment proceeded to decline until in 1914 only 240 persons found work; they earned but $100,000 during the year. In this four-year period preceding the war, only three new industries were established in Woodbine, and these lasted but for a short duration. Gutman Brothers, fur manufacturers, stayed only four months in 1911, giving up because of the high price of labor. The Enterprise Clothing Company lasted but six months. This factory was taken over by two young men of Woodbine, who formed the Standard

Clothing Company the following year with the aid of the Board of Trade.

At the Woodbine Hat Company employment was irregular and business slow until late in November 1913, when it was forced into bankruptcy. There was a 15% settlement; and after a new agreement with the Fund, the hat company was reorganized. But it could not re-establish its business on a solid basis, and in 1914 it paid out in wages less than half of what was paid in 1913.

Also in difficulties was the Coast Knitting Company. In 1911, it failed, and a 50% settlement was made. Mr. Bayard, investing about $16,000 in the enterprise, became its largest stockholder and undertook its reorganization. He applied to the Fund for a $10,000 loan for a period of three years and it was granted. For the next two years the knitting mill did fairly good business, employing about thirty workmen. By 1914 things were very slow, and for a part of the year the plant closed down. Bayard's own factory, the machine and tool shop, continued its steady course and was generally well supplied with work. His company seemed to be the most prosperous in town, although it employed only thirty or forty workmen and paid out in wages between $16,000 and $18,000 a year. At the end of 1914 Bayard closed a contract which was to keep his forty employees busy for the next six or eight months.

The older established industries, the chief support of the population, were placed in a precarious state by the extreme industrial depression that set in about 1914. This was considered a reflection of the general conditions throughout the country, but Woodbine was particularly hard hit. The Woodbine Children's Clothing Company, despite the periodic labor difficulties and the reduction of wages, employed three-fifths of the working population in 1913, and contributed two-thirds of the total wages in the town. The following year things were so bad that Rabinowitz's partners sold out their interest to him, and he continued to operate the plant on a reduced scale. Only 110 hands found employment in this plant in 1914; and that year, under the sole ownership of Rabinowitz, it made a poor showing. When Rabinowitz asked the Fund for a loan of $10,000, Mr. Rosenbaum stated, "If we refuse to help out Mr. Rabinowitz, he may be forced into bankruptcy, and as he is the largest employer in Woodbine, his failure would cost us more than $10,000."

Palitz's Survey

It was not a cheering picture of the present and immediate future that was drawn in a comprehensive survey of Woodbine in

1913 by Bernard A. Palitz, who was shortly to become General Agent of the Fund. His conclusions were:

(1) Woodbine is not progressing industrially, as is seen from a comparison of the number of persons employed and the wages paid out annually from 1905 to 1912.

(2) The population is markedly on the decrease. This is shown by the number of vacant houses and by the decrease of the school population.

(3) One firm, the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company, is the main source of the livelihood of the community.

"As a consequence of existing conditions," he continued, "a spirit of general uneasiness and uncertainty prevails both among the business men and workingmen. The factory workers, with the exception of those of the machine shop, are apprehensive for their future in Woodbine, observing that all the other industries are not more encouraging, for even though the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company is at present working their hands in full force, and pays out good wages, it does not paint the future of Woodbine in rosy colors. It has removed a part of its plant, the cutting and stock departments, from Woodbine, and the firm does not fail to assert on frequent occasions that in accordance with their agreement with the Woodbine Land and Improvement Co. they are free to transfer a great part of the work now done in Woodbine to any other place, being obliged under the contract to pay out only $1200 a week in wages.

"The business men who are dependent upon the factory workers have been feeling the consequences of the industrial decline, and look for opportunities to rid themselves of their properties and move from Woodbine. Again, those who depend upon the general prosperity of Woodbine, such as builders, carpenters, painters, plumbers, etc. are utterly discouraged, and consider their stay in Woodbine as a temporary matter."

"The year 1914 will mark," Mr. Palitz noted, "an important epoch in the history of Woodbine industries, in that practically all subsidies to them were ending." He recommended that some decisive action be taken to bring about the economic independence of the town such as the introduction of "some industry other than needle work . . . with a new and different class of workmen," the sale of the Power House to a private company, and the encouragement by the Fund of the newly organized Board of Trade composed of citizens of the town, who had contributed the sum of $1,000 to start an effort to better the industrial conditions.

In June 1913, at a mass meeting called by the Board of Trade, over $3,400 was subscribed by the townspeople for the erection of a new factory building with which to house any new industry that could be induced to locate at Woodbine. The Fund advanced the Board of Trade $7,500, to be secured by a mortgage, to make possible the erection of a new factory. This factory was rented to the Enterprise Clothing Company and later to the Standard Clothing Company, previously referred to.

The War Period

During the war Woodbine experienced a paradoxical trend: whereas the number of industries was markedly reduced, the total wages paid and people employed were practically doubled. In 1915, there were six industries; in 1918, but one. The number of workers employed jumped from 334 in 1915 to 362 in 1916, 615 in 1917, and 700 in 1918. The wages paid out increased from $145,000 in 1915 to $173,000 in 1916; $343,000 in 1917 and over $400,000 in 1918.

One by one the old industries began to leave Woodbine. Bayard's machine shop had several extremely prosperous years, punctuated by strikes. In 1916, the plant was working full time and five nights a week, and Bayard had difficulty in obtaining the necessary skilled labor. The following year he was again amply supplied with business, but in July a serious strike took place which led to a near-riot when Bayard imported strikebreakers. Through the mediation of Mr. Palitz and Mr. Rabinowitz, grave consequences were averted. Bayard stated that he was now altogether indifferent to Woodbine as far as his industry was concerned; his business had outgrown the place, and freight expenses and labor prevented him from expanding. After twenty-seven years in Woodbine, Bayard removed his factory to Philadelphia in 1918. The previous year, he had employed forty people and paid out about $35,000 in wages. About sixty families left the town. Woodbine felt the blow.

The Coast Knitting Company, which had not shown any improvement in years, slowed down perceptibly in 1915. The following year, work was irregular, and the company was disbanded; the plant was sold to a Philadelphia concern, to which city it was removed. The Standard Clothing Company, which occupied part of the Board of Trade factory, stopped work in 1915. A firm of New York merchants, Margolis & Son, were interested in the plant and invested $50,000 in it. But it proved to be, in reality, a branch of a New York concern. Margolis & Son were not able to attend to

matters in both branches and were forced to give up the Woodbine branch in 1917.

Owing to financial difficulties, the Woodbine Hat Company closed its plant in September 1916, although the Fund had granted it a loan of $3,000. The closing of this factory did not have a depressing effect on the people of Woodbine; on the contrary, it gave them hope that a more solid industry would eventually be induced to come to Woodbine. It was reorganized later in the year, as the Community Hat Works. For one month it operated, then the factory was closed "due to the difficulty in getting raw materials and labor at the proper terms."

Thus, in 1918, the only remaining industry in Woodbine was the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company. In 1915, there had been an increase in wages due to a special order which kept the plant running with 300 hands for three months. After this, about half of the workers left. The next year, it went into bankruptcy. A 35% settlement was made and Rabinowitz continued to operate his plant on government contracts. By 1917, these contracts had made work in Woodbine plentiful, and the clothing company employed 450 people, paying out $290,000 in wages. Work in his plant increased rapidly. Additional machinery was installed. By the end of 1918, he was operating four factories—including the Bayard building which he had purchased—and employing 700 people. More than $400,000 in wages was being paid out by this single industry in Woodbine.

Attempts on the part of the Board of Trade to induce new manufacturers to come to Woodbine, through advertisements, personal solicitation, etc. were of little avail. The chief difficulty, reported the General Agent of the Fund, was the supply of labor, which at this time was completely employed in the town; not one person was without work. "This presents one of the great industrial problems of Woodbine; the lack of a sufficient labor population, due to the small size of the town and its isolation."

In the decade that followed the War, industrial conditions continued at a more or less steady, though unprogressing pace. Little or no expansion was manifest. Three or four major industries, and one or two smaller industries, were operating each year. Beginning with 1918, there was a perceptible improvement; in 1919, about 450 were employed at a total wage of $443,000, and in 1920, 490 workers received wages totaling about $400,000.

From this period to the present day four industries have sustained Woodbine: The M.R.D. Hat Company, the Bradstone Rubber Company, the Woodbine Borough Clothing Company, and

the Woodbine Clothing Company. All but the last began operations in 1919. It was in that year that conditions seemed to be at the lowest ebb. In February none of the factories was active (the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company having closed the previous December) and all those who had not left the town were without work. Even a number of the very old settlers had been forced to leave Woodbine, and there were more than fifty-five vacant houses in town.

Acquisition of new industries was imperative. Mr. Benjamin believed that "we ought to show our faith in the possibilities of the town as a manufacturing center by aiding a promising manufacturer with a limited amount of money and facilities which he cannot get elsewhere. I think we should try this plan rather than allow the town to dry up, losing our investment and what is more important, all the investments of the citizens, as certainly will be the case unless some employment be found quickly for those who are left there. I believe that the sum of $25,000 would cover the securing of two moderate sized industries for the purpose of demonstrating the practicability of this plan."

New Factories Established

Unexpectedly, however, one of the first of the new industries established was at the initiative of the Woodbine residents themselves. Twenty old settlers and former employees of the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company formed an organization to manufacture clothing, as contractors for New York wholesalers. Each man invested $300. The Board of Trade factory was leased to them. Outside of a short period in 1920, when it operated in Reading, Pa., the new industry has been employing between 150 and 200 hands each year in Woodbine since then. From the start, it was successful and in 1921 it was the most active industry in town. Because it was a semi-cooperative undertaking, it had no labor troubles. But in 1925, after some disputes among the partners, several retired from the firm and formed the Woodbine Borough Clothing Company. This new company likewise employed between 140 and 200 hands each year.

The second of the major industries founded in 1919 was the M.R.D. Hat Company. In May, it received its factory rent free, as well as concessions on light and power, on condition that it pay out in wages every year not less than $20,000. The hat company continued to operate with general steadiness, employing an average of about 35 hands, who received an annual wage averaging

about $30,000. In 1930 it employed 52 people and paid out $37,000 in wages. Each year it has steadily improved its position.

In addition to these new industries, the Woodbine Children's Clothing Company resumed work in the middle of 1919. Its life was studded with strikes; two years later it closed completely, and the entire working force went to other towns. But towards the end of 1919, with three industries in operation, prospects in Woodbine were cheering. It was reported that "everybody is working, and there is room for at least twenty-five additional families who could obtain employment."

Most encouraging of recent developments was the entry of the Bradstone Rubber Company, the members of which were W. P. Bradley and I. V. Stone, who had held important positions with the Revere Rubber Company of Providence, Rhode Island. Mr. Stone was the son of a Woodbine settler and a graduate of the Agricultural School. This industry was particularly welcomed as it answered the demand of the town for a non-needle trade, to which a higher and more skillful class of laborers could be attracted. A subsidy was granted for a period of four years, in the form of a partial return on costs of the power, light, steam and heat supplied them, the amount repaid by the Fund being scaled down until it ended after four years. This was a slight concession as compared with those granted in the earlier days of the town. A contract had been signed in November 1918, by which two factories were leased to it for ten years. But delays in the repairs to the factories, a slump in the rubber market, and other factors retarded its progress until 1922. In that year, it became allied with a large shoe corporation and received financial backing. A new lease was granted for twelve years, beginning 1923. In this agreement, after the company had paid out $500,000 in wages, the factory and land were to revert to it. Since then, it has almost continuously been in operation, employing between 30 and 40 hands, and paying out annual wages averaging $35,000.

At the end of 1923, President Sol. G. Rosenbaum was able to report to the Trustees that "at no time since its foundation had Woodbine been on as sound a foundation as at present. There are four operating industries only, but three of them have been established for several years and are giving steady employment with the result that there is no surplus of labor. As a consequence, there are only eight vacant homes and the shopkeepers are prosperous, having developed considerable business with the surrounding country. The Home for the Feebleminded has contributed to the general prosperity of the town."

A half-dozen small industries came and departed in the following decade. Sindell, Stern & Co. (clothing manufacturers) operated in 1922-1923, used 25 hands and removed to their main plant when it was found inconvenient to manage two plants. A small machine shop opened in 1919 and closed the following year, but in 1923 the Woodbine Machine Works, doing local repairs, was established and continued until 1930, when it became the Lipman Machine Works. Three manufacturers of clothing existed for short intervals in 1920, 1921 and 1925, but were unable to make progress.

When the depression began, in the fall of 1929, industrial Woodbine held its own. Despite conditions in 1930, the factories were fairly busy, but the situation was not reassuring. Nevertheless, employment conditions were more favorable than in many other similar communities.

Following the decision of the Trustees to eliminate the Fund from all business connections with the Borough, the power and water plant was sold in 1929 to the Woodbine Light and Power Co., an outside interest, on the payment of part cash and part mortgage bonds, payable over a term of years. The deed provides that, for all time, the plant shall be maintained to provide electric light, water, steam and heating for the manufacturers and residents.

This swift review of over forty years of industrial developments in Woodbine gives the story of an unusual experiment faced with unforeseen and incalculable difficulties. The cost of this industrial experiment was about a million dollars. But the labors and vexations, the direct and continuous involvement of the Trustees in everything that affected the economic welfare of the inhabitants and the fate of the factories was a far more serious matter. Today (1933) there are four factories in operation at Woodbine, two of which are on a rather uncertain basis, employing 469 people more or less steadily, with a total annual payroll of $283,000.

In the decade preceding 1905, free rent, free power, free transportation for workers, free lots for building workmen's homes, and often cash percentage of payroll were given to manufacturers to induce them to establish industries and to build homes for their employees. Shortly thereafter these cash subsidies and land grants were withdrawn and some years later the free power subsidies were withdrawn, leaving the factories only with free rent for their premises. This changed condition as to subsidizing manufacturers was under a definite decision that too much assistance to manufacturers had been a detriment to their future possibilities of success. For the past ten years, the manufacturers have conducted

their businesses on the basis of free rentals for their factories, without any other subsidies, and have surmounted many difficulties.

In recent years the labor question has been practically non-existent. In the past fifteen years there had been no strikes of large consequence in Woodbine. In 1933, following the introduction of the N.R.A. and a strike which involved cessation of work of six weeks' duration, all factories became unionized.

From his observations of Woodbine at the end of the first decade of its existence Mr. Benjamin expressed doubt as to the economic success of the industrial feature of the colony; he believed that it would be many years before the helping hand of the Fund could be withdrawn from it. With over a third of a century's efforts and struggles to build up the town industrially, intimately connected with everything that affected the fate of the town, his conclusions are of interest: "The type of manufacturers who sought aid were mainly those of small means who could not rely upon their own resources. All of them had to be subsidized. The turnover in plants and working people in 40 odd years has been tremendous. Those manufacturers who went to Woodbine because of the aid tendered to them got cold feet as soon as this aid was withdrawn. Individuals, on the other hand, who went to Woodbine on their own initiative and prospered in a moderate way, generally remained there. The problem of establishing industries in a section which was not naturally adapted to manufacturing enterprise, has been at all times difficult to solve and extremely costly. It is *economically* feasible to remove an established factory enterprise to a place where there is a supply of labor available; it is also *economically* feasible to move working men and women to a place where there is an established plant at which they can be employed. In Woodbine the problem which faced the Trustees was to remove the people to Woodbine and to establish new industrial enterprises at the same time and to get them working together profitably for both the manufacturer and his working force."

Part 4.—Community Life

Civic Responsibility

In 1900, a Village Improvement Association was organized to look after the cleanliness of the town. The property owners taxed themselves proportionately and elected a board with the local physician as inspector to deal with matters of hygiene. The "paper nuisance" and the general untidiness of the town began to dis-



Woodbine Residence

appear. This activity was gratifying to the Trustees, who encouraged every step made toward self-direction and self-reliance.

A turning point in the life of the colony began with the incorporation of Woodbine as a municipality. The management of its municipal affairs had hitherto been divided. The educational system was under the jurisdiction of the public school district of Dennis Township, while the public safety, health and other matters pertaining to the welfare of the community were regulated by the Trustees of the Fund.

With the coming of more industries and the improvement of real estate values, the tax-paying population grew larger and the question arose whether Woodbine was receiving its share of the taxes collected. In January, 1902, a mass meeting was held, at which the matter of obtaining a charter for independent government was discussed.

This assembly, in its directness and simplicity, recalled to mind the New England meeting of colonial days. Every one interested in the affairs of the village came to hear the pros and cons of the question. It was asked whether the village should be incorporated into a Borough or a township, and what were the advantages of each. Some wished to be clear on the subject of taxes, whether, by assuming the management of the town, the rate of taxes would be raised. Others wished to know what obligations they would undertake besides the balance of the indebtedness on the school building. The more timid proposed a wait of three years, arguing that it was too soon to take up the reins of government. The assembly finally appointed a committee of twenty-five to visit a few New Jersey boroughs and learn what advances they had made by self-government. These representatives visited several boroughs in Cape May and Cumberland counties and reported in favor of separation. A petition signed by the required number of inhabitants was soon forwarded to the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, and the law creating the inhabitants of Woodbine a "body politic and corporate in law by the name of the Borough of Woodbine" was approved by the Governor of the State, March 3rd, 1903.

On the 14th day of April of the same year, special elections were held at which a Mayor, six Councilmen, an Assessor, a Collector, one Justice of the Peace and three Commissioners of Appeals in cases of taxation were elected. Without a dissenting voice, Prof. Sabsovich was elected Mayor. The first meeting of the newly created government took place April 20th, when non-elective officers were appointed by the Mayor and ratified by the members

of the Council. Standing committees on finance, taxation, etc. were also appointed by the Mayor.

The Borough was at the same time made an independent school district. The Council appointed a Board of Health and thus self-government of Woodbine took shape and form.

It was a great moment in the history of Woodbine, and for the immigrant Jews of the country. The emotions aroused by the celebration of this event are described by Dr. Boris Bogen, then an inhabitant of Woodbine and principal of the Agricultural School:[1]

> Nor did civic virtue stand godlike in Woodbine, for some of its voting inhabitants were not averse to being corrupted on election days. So we thought of separating Woodbine from the hands of the surrounding politicians and making of it an independent political unit. As a self-governing community Woodbine would become conscious of its civic responsibilities and there would be a proud citizenship scorning the corrupter. It would no longer be dependent for its school system on the beneficence of the neighboring politicians and would maintain itself by a tax system instead of by the philanthropy of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.
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> And notable was that day when the Borough of Woodbine was established—the first all-Jewish political unit in America and, for that matter, in the world—and from New York and Philadelphia Jews came to celebrate the occasion, among them Jacob Gordin and Abraham Cahan and Joseph Barondess; and sociologists and social reformers and soul-savers came to see this experiment, and among these were General Booth and Booker T. Washington and Edward Steiner.
>
> The banner of political purity was forthwith raised, and only a few of the pioneers who, by reason of being old inhabitants, had enjoyed the prestige and the perquisites of political leadership were unhappy. There was the solemn day of election when the politically untutored Jew proved he was as good as any in all the technique of politics, save that he conducted this election with clean hands.
>
> And so there was installed a Jewish administration in the borough government. A lawyer was engaged to instruct the officials in the rules of parliamentary procedure and to teach them the basic laws under which they functioned. A rather pretentious city hall was built and streets were paved, and a fire department organized, and the erection of a new schoolhouse begun. Thus Woodbine quickly acquired all the conveniences of an American city. . . .

Educational Progress

In 1904, when the school population was on the increase, and twelve additional rooms were required, a central schoolhouse was erected, at a cost of $15,000, which was to be used also for social and borough purposes. Three years later, a two years' approved high school course was introduced, as well as a night school for adults. This improved the grading of the pupils, and made possible the introduction of a complete school program.

By the end of the second decade of the town's existence, the



View of Part of the Woodbine Public School

educational standard was described as relatively high.[2] "There is very little illiteracy, and the Hebrews consistently support schools and other educational institutions. In Woodbine there are two libraries, both well patronized. More than one-half of the taxes are for educational purposes. There are now in the colony (in 1910) four public schools, one private school, and the Agricultural School."

By 1912, the school rooms were so congested that another building had to be provided, and the Board of Education secured a loan without interest from the Fund for the purpose. The high school, which had had a three-year course up to now, was extended to four years; and at the first commencement in June, there were four graduates. The new Woodbine High School building was dedicated October 12, 1914.

This picture of educational Woodbine, presented in 1920 by a student of Americanization, holds good for the present day:[3]

> While the center of the Bohemian community was seen to be the freethinking society, and that of the Dutch community the church, in the case of this Jewish community the center is the public school. A supervising principal is in general administrative charge. The present incumbent has held this position some twelve years. Although himself a Christian, he is thoroughly interested in and identified with the community, as are the members of his family.
>
> School attendance is excellent, and there is little absence, except on the part of non-Jewish children, in whose case regulations are not strictly enforced. . . . Only about 10 per cent of the Jewish children leave to go to work before completing the eighth grade; of those who remain, close to 90 per cent go to high school; and of these, in turn, nearly half finish the high school course.

Social Life

Amusements and entertainments began to develop to a much greater extent than in most towns the size of Woodbine. This was natural in view of the care which was being bestowed upon its growth and welfare by the Trustees. In earlier years, the Agricultural School building was one of the main centres of social activity. There frequent stereopticon lectures were given, social meetings and entertainments held, the students contributing athletic exhibitions. The town hall was also used for amateur theatricals, lectures and traveling theatrical performances. The Volunteer Fire Company, the several benefit and fraternal orders represented by local lodges and branches, the ladies' social and fraternal clubs connected with the synagogue all united in creating an unusually active social life. A Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association was later organized under the guidance of the Jewish Welfare Board. The severest blow that the town suffered socially

was in the removal of the Agricultural School. The presence of the active and ambitious young students with their keen intellectual interests made the School a focus hardly equalled and their going represented a loss to the life of the community perhaps even more serious than the deprivation of the economic benefits received from the School.

A serious problem faced the Fund when it was noted in later years that the younger generation was tending to leave Woodbine. A study of what became of the graduates of the Woodbine High School, made about ten years ago, showed that of the 77 graduates only about one-eighth remained in the town. This was explained by the fact that most of these were either pursuing courses in college or were taking up professional careers. A difference in the types of occupations or professions chosen may perhaps be attributed to the rural environment, as compared with the Jewish young man and girl in the city. Of the 67 who were enumerated as leaving, only one was a lawyer and only two were doctors. Engineers numbered five, chemists and druggists three each. The majority of the girls were stenographers and typists but there were also two nurses. The customary trend of the educated Jew to the professions is here reflected. Of those who remained in Woodbine, five were public school teachers, one a dentist and one in business.

This tendency was not found in greater frequency in Woodbine than in other rural communities, but the Trustees favored special efforts to improve the social conditions in the community. This led to the most striking development in the recent history of Woodbine—the Community Center movement.

The Community Center

In 1925, the Jewish Welfare Board, which had been studying the needs of the communities of South Jersey presented a plan for organizing the community activities in Woodbine. Jewish activities were to be stressed, including a Sabbath School and religious services for the young, courses in Jewish history and literature, celebration of the Jewish festivals, dramatics, musical, artistic and social activities, and athletic and literary clubs. In short, it was to be a Jewish Community Center of the type initiated and fostered in various communities by the Jewish Welfare Board, to be controlled by a Board of Directors consisting of representative Jews of Woodbine. This plan involved the expenditure of $50,000 for a Community Center, and $6,000 for annual maintenance. Mr. Mortimer L. Schiff thought that the proposal should be carried out experimentally for a year by having the Jewish Welfare

Board furnish a social director to initiate a program of leisure-time activities.

The direction of this work was cheerfully undertaken by Mr. Samuel S. Fleisher, a Trustee of the Fund, whose notable work in the development of the artistic potentialities of the under-privileged youth in Philadelphia through his "Graphic Sketch Club" promised success to this experiment.

In the two rooms given by the public school authorities, a vigorous social, educational and recreational endeavor was started in the summer of 1926. The director, Miss Esther Harrow, an experienced social worker, organized a playground for the children and instituted art classes, rhythmic dancing, and various club groups.

In the school assembly room a stage was built for dramatic and musical entertainments. The school authorities also gave over two rooms which were treated as quasi-museums or "museums in the small," and "with the bric-a-brac, works of art and drapery, some idea of the beauty and color and line and design inherent in the arts was given to all." With the cooperation of the Philadelphia Art Alliance, the Circulating Picture Club furnished ten excellent oil paintings every two months. Concerts were given by distinguished Philadelphia musicians, members of the Philadelphia Orchestra and others, as well as lectures in the school.

The general situation was reviewed, such as the improvement of the appearance of the town, the lack of esthetic appeal in the homes, the possibility of making the religious services more attractive in character and surroundings, and more conducive to spiritual results "than was possible during the days when the whole community seemed to have lost heart by reason of certain unfortunate industrial and economic experiences which made the older folk apathetic and the more active of the talented younger people more anxious to leave the community than to stay and develop it along better lines since from their point of view they felt there was nothing there for them and little for their elders."

These beginnings were encouraging. Mr. Fleisher reported that the cooperation of the school authorities had been secured, as well as the services of Mr. Frederic Nunn, a teacher of art, Dr. Charles Prohaska, the well-known Director of Physical Culture of Temple University, and Miss Alice Kraft, as teacher of dancing. An appropriation of $15,000 was made, Messrs. Fleisher and Benjamin to have full power over expenditures.

The movement continued to gain such momentum that it was found necessary to obtain more spacious headquarters, and a large cottage was bought and altered into a well-equipped clubhouse.

Mr. Fleisher properly spoke of this work as the first rural district experiment of its kind.

In January, 1928, Miss Harrow told the Trustees, at their annual meeting, that there was plenty of material among the younger generation who could be trained to become high-class artisans. Mr. Fleisher hoped eventually to initiate classes in tile-making, teak furniture, and similar fields in an attempt to train hands as well as heads, and in order to attract to Woodbine the better industries that call for expert workers. The experiment had drawn the County Superintendent of Schools of New Jersey, as well as the Mayor of Sea Isle City, to Woodbine, to observe this unusual development. Again an appropriation for $15,000 was made for the community work.

In 1927, the activities outgrew the limited space allotted to the community work, and an unoccupied small factory was converted into a gymnasium. Club rooms, tennis courts and other facilities were added. Weaving was introduced in the expectation of developing rug weaving as a home industry. It was also planned to add pottery and sculpture, the former to utilize the South Jersey clay abundant in the neighborhood, the latter as a preparation to wrought iron work. On May 28th, a review of the activities was arranged which Mr. Fleisher described as a memorable occasion. "The day opened," he wrote, "with a pageant of all the classes and clubs. The procession of decorated trucks was headed by an automobile and hundreds of cheering youngsters paraded through Tuckahoe, Dennisville, Belleplain and up and down Woodbine until noon. The afternoon was given up to a picnic lunch, a visit to the art exhibit, (and let me stop here to say that the exhibition of drawing, painting, decorated glass, sewing, embroidery, waxwork, scout-work, wood-work, etc., would have done credit to any large settlement house; there seems to be talent in every direction) after which the crowds of young and old gathered around the lawn of Mrs. William Abramson to see the classes of rhythmic dancing. Then came the sports on the athletic field in which Dr. Prohaska's boys and girls held forth in games of all kinds. The grand finale was a baseball game between Cape May Court House and Woodbine. Happily, the Woodbine boys won so that the day was made complete in its success."

Praise was forthcoming from the district Secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, Miss Leah Chubbock, who inspected this "experiment in living" and wrote Mr. Fleisher:

I find it hard to put into words the thrill and inspiration which your work in Woodbine brings to me. From now on it will be one answer to the argument so often meeting us in our work—that the recreational and cultural side of living is all very well for the city but that the small town and rural districts do not need such things and will not accept them.

I heard many stories, during my stay, of young people who have gone from Woodbine into success in various lines of work. This is not surprising. To grow up in the atmosphere of music, of drama, of art in its finest sense must result in the capacity to distinguish the real and the spurious in living and this capacity alone spells much of success.

At a special meeting late in the year, the Trustees discussed the work at length. The need of a gymnasium was stressed. The earnestness of Mr. Fleisher and his energy in developing this new program greatly impressed the Trustees, who were willing to give him a free hand in developing his program. Fears, however, began to be entertained that the program might become too extended or expensive for the town, should it eventually undertake to carry on the work without the help of the Fund, which the Trustees hoped would be the final outcome.

It was not merely the matter of increasing expenses that troubled the Trustees. The school authorities complained that the Community Center work was taking too much of the children's time. This problem of cooperation and coordination of activities could be solved, but a more serious difficulty was the growing opposition of some of the townspeople to a program in the making and directing of which they had no part. Their discontent was partly explained by the fact that the Community Center had become not exclusively Jewish, as originally planned, but nonsectarian. Woodbine was no longer a wholly Jewish community, however. The Jews represented only about 65% of the entire population. This was a situation considered from the very beginning as wholly desirable by the Trustees. There were now many non-Jewish families in Woodbine—Poles, Italians, Roumanians and Negroes. The Community Center was intended to be of service to each of these groups, as well as to the Jews, though the latter naturally took the lead in inaugurating the various activities.

At the next annual meeting of the Trustees, Mr. Fleisher declared that the movement had improved homes, stores, and real estate values, that it would aid in solving the financial problem of the town, and make it self-sustaining. In connection with the question perennially raised by some of the Trustees of the Fund's withdrawal from Woodbine, either partially or wholly, he thought that this withdrawal would be most inopportune in view of the harm it would do to the Community Center movement. The Cape

May County officials, he announced, had expressed themselves very enthusiastically about these activities, and were about to submit a proposition to him to take over the Center work in Woodbine as well as to extend this movement to other towns in the County. Since the cost of this would be met by taxation, the Fund would be relieved of part of this financial burden. Mr. Fleisher asked for a $25,000 appropriation, but was granted $16,000 plus $2,000 for a deficit. This disposed of the question of withdrawal temporarily, though Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger was dubious as to whether the Community Center movement was the medium through which the Fund would withdraw from Woodbine.

The dedication of the new community clubhouse on November 11, 1928 was marked by interesting ceremonies. All elements of the community were included. On the program a division was entitled "Invocation to the Spirit of America," which included the singing of the Star Spangled Banner, the Jewish, Polish, Italian and Roumanian national anthems and Negro melodies. Mr. Benjamin's address on "Faith and Vision" was a notable statement from a man who had devoted much thought to the problems of Woodbine:

> When the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund acquired this tract of land for settlement, I do not think that anyone of them realized that the ultimate material success of their experiment would bring with it responsibilities as to the cultural development of its people. They were faced with an emergency which called for the rehabilitation of an enormous number of Russian Jews who had been compelled to flee their country and who had used up practically all their means. The compelling motive was to provide a means by which some of these refugees could quickly support themselves and their families and could be educated to be worthy citizens of the country of their adoption. For the first 25 years or more of Woodbine's existence the economic problem was the all-absorbing one. Today it is of lesser importance. I am not going into details of the long drawn-out struggle to make Woodbine self-supporting, sufficient to say that after many ups and downs and grievous disappointments, Woodbine became economically successful and self-sustaining, not on a large scale, but satisfactorily.
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> Then for several years the town simply marked time. It did not visibly progress, neither did it retrograde to any extent, but it did show markedly that there was some inherent difficulty either in the plan itself or the development of the plan which kept the town of Woodbine from sharing the general progressive advance that most American manufacturing communities have shown since the War. It was in the hope of finding out the reason for this dormant state of affairs that a general survey was made and the result of this survey showed that while the material side of Woodbine was satisfactory, the cultural, spiritual, and idealistic side had been neglected.
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> It was evident from this survey that Woodbine could never fulfill its proper destiny nor be a credit to its founders until or unless its output of men and women should be equal to that of any other American community. Working

> upon this theory there has been so far accomplished a stringent revision of the sanitary laws, a decided improvement of the public school system, a further development of the power house (giving service to outlying farms) and finally the building up of a community center and a community center idea which has reached one of its climaxes today in the dedication of this building which we hope will stand for a broader culture (in all that that name implies), for every man, woman and child that can be brought within its influence.
>
> I know you will take my criticism as that of an ardent friend and well-wisher when I say to you that Woodbine will never really succeed until you realize that every girl and boy must be educated to the point where they can use their hands as well as their brain and until there is a striving for doing everything better than it has ever been done before.

Late in 1929, the clubhouse was destroyed by fire. Before deciding to rebuild, the Trustees appointed Dr. LeRoy E. Bowman, Secretary of the National Community Center Association, to make a general social survey of Woodbine for the purpose of evaluating the needs of the community and making recommendations with regard to the improvement of the Community Center. His report, submitted in December, was a thorough analysis of the community and its needs. A number of significant points were brought out in this first study of Woodbine as a community.

The economic status and adequacy of family incomes, Dr. Bowman showed, bore a direct relation to health, education, recreation, and other social goods. With Woodbine's residents almost continually in doubt as to their incomes, they were "poverty-minded." This explained their opposition to a Community Center. As for the younger people, on finishing high school they were leaving Woodbine for the larger cities. Work which might induce them to remain did not exist in Woodbine.

"There are very few towns in America of the size of Woodbine with community centers as fine as the Clubhouse that burned, probably none in communities of no greater town assets or private fortunes," the survey revealed. The music lessons and the art classes, for example, were on an exceptionally high level. Children were being adequately served. But boys from fourteen years up, as well as adolescent and older girls, were the major social problem in Woodbine.

The crux of the survey lay in Mr. Bowman's final recommendation that the school authorities assume as rapidly as possible the responsibility of part of the community work as curricular and extra-curricular activities. All the work of an educational nature should eventually go under the supervision of the Board of Education. The type of activities conducted were the right ones; social and recreational, educational, athletic, esthetic. But the older boys

and girls should be served more. Every aspect of the community work should be linked, if possible, to county or state organizations, such as was done with the art work. "There does not appear to me to be compelling reasons for the Fund to assist in the erection of a new school, as is urged in Woodbine. However, if money is to be spent for building in Woodbine, the school should be first considered, and if it is built, it should be carefully planned in consultation with community center experts to include gymnasium, dancing possibilities, auditorium, kitchen, etc. for community uses."

The attention of the Fund was called to the colored population in the town, which consisted of about thirty-three families. They were in a "sadder plight" than the other groups. There were also twenty Polish farmer-families and fifteen Polish families in the town. "The problem of social change in Woodbine is strictly a community problem," Dr. Bowman pointed out. He urged that no aid be given by the Fund except in a non-sectarian and a community fashion. If any group were to be helped particularly, it should be the colored.

Finally, Dr. Bowman backed up the Fund's current policy of tapering off its subsidy to Woodbine as rapidly as possible, for the best social results.

On the eve of giving up his direction of the Community Center work, Mr. Fleisher answered Dr. Bowman's criticisms. He did not agree that his three years of experimentation in Woodbine had been carried on along mistaken lines. What was done was based upon his very long experience elsewhere in working along novel lines and striking out new paths in cultural and social developments. He further observed that "the very people who are indicted as having no community sense, no concern for social unity, are at the same time presented as those to whom the problem of Woodbine should be turned over in place of the present experimental method."

Despite the absence of a clubhouse and the changed policy, it was still possible for the new Director, Miss Marion Kixman, to find a nucleus upon which to build. In June 1930, a well-equipped playground, with tennis courts and children's playhouse, stood on the ruins of the clubhouse site. A cottage which had been used to house Woodbine's out-of-town school teachers was converted into the Center's new headquarters.

Dr. Bowman, who had been appointed technical advisor, believed that greater progress would be made if the townsfolk elected from among themselves an advisory board representative of every section, irrespective of race, color or creed, with the object of bringing the Center into direct line with the town's various activities. Hence, in October 1930 was born the Woodbine Community Center Council which included seven Jewish and three non-Jewish representatives of the town.

With its inauguration the activities of the Center gathered momentum. In 1932, the Center conducted 27 main activities in the clubhouse, gymnasium, and playground. These were art and music classes, rhythmic dancing, physical education, manual training, wood-carving and linoleum block printing, and a variety of both scout and junior dramatic clubs. In much of this adults participated. As far as possible, the activities were made self-supporting by the instituting of small charges. The Council was operating effectively and a year later Dr. Bowman was proud to note that the high school graduates were not leaving the town as they formerly did.

In the summer of 1933, the greatly diminished income of the Fund, together with the necessity of devoting large sums to the relief of German Jewish emigrants to this country, forced the Trustees to curtail the Center activities. The Fund allotted the use of the cottage to the Council, plus an annual allowance of $1,200 for its maintenance. This compelled the elimination of the director, the technical advisor and many of the activities, the adults being mainly affected. At the present time, with the assistance chiefly of volunteers, the work is proceeding quite successfully, though not along the elaborate lines that had been planned several years prior.

Part 5.—Woodbine Today: An Appraisal

With its wide streets and avenues bordered everywhere by shade trees, its well-kept farms and farm houses, its neat homes, its excellent factory buildings situated on one side of the railroad tracks, Woodbine presents an attractive appearance to the observer. There is nothing of the drabness of factory environs and mean quarters characteristic of some American factory towns. The streets are kept in good condition. The introduction of automobiles and the resulting improvement of the roads has made both farm and factory life easier in Woodbine. In the early years, for example, the Woodbine farmer who ventured to sell his produce to Ocean City, a summer resort 18 miles from Woodbine, faced a trying all-night trip with horse and wagon over rutty roads swarming with mosquitoes. Today it is a matter of less than an hour for him to get his produce to the market. The development of poultry farming, which is not as difficult as truck farming, predominant until lately; the

increased use of machinery; the extension of household facilities and improvements; and the radio all have helped to make the lot of the farmer and the townsman more attractive.

The poultry development was started by the Fund in 1930. In the course of these few years some nine poultry units have been built, a typical unit at the beginning consisting of a ten-acre plot, a modern five-room dwelling, bungalow style, equipped with hot water, heat and electricity, a garage and barn combination and a poultry house, 140 x 20 feet. All of these buildings are well constructed and equipped with electricity. Each unit was sold at a moderate price and on reasonable terms. The Jewish Agricultural Society, through its field representative, is helping these farmers to use the most advanced and sanitary methods of handling their birds.

The census taken in December 1931 showed thirty-six farmers in Woodbine, fourteen of whom are either exclusively poultry farmers or whose major product is poultry, with a total number of 32,000 laying hens. This looks like a very healthy development. Among the farmers is one who has invested considerable capital in one of the largest poultry plants in Cape May County. A few of the sons of pioneer farmers have settled on farms in Woodbine. These second-generation farmers do not differ in type and general characteristics from non-Jewish farmers of the neighborhood.

As a town Woodbine presents a hopeful appearance. Before the depression, many improvements were made by the townspeople in their houses and in the business section. Practically all of their homes are owned by the people themselves, free of any indebtedness to the Fund. Owning the factories and the uncleared land surrounding the town and the farms, the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company (subsidiary of the Baron de Hirsch Fund) is the largest taxpayer. It pays, however, less than one-third of the tax levy and does not interfere in any way with the Borough administration. The Borough is in good financial shape. The town supports a bank and a Building and Loan Association, which has an excellent record covering many years.

Unfortunately, however, the relatively slow development of Woodbine, industrial and agricultural, and its limited income from taxes, chiefly used for schools, have kept the majority of its people on a narrow margin of living, though there has never been any real distress. The town as a whole has not been able to create a surplus over and above its bare necessities.

It is interesting to note the reactions to the town of a new

Trustee, Mr. Stanley M. Isaacs, son of the first President of the Fund, following his first visit to Woodbine:

> I, for one, believe that the Fund did an excellent job and is still doing an excellent job, considering that it was planned some forty years ago, before the ideas of garden cities and similar communities had been developed abroad and long before they were even thought of in this country. The Fund was pioneering, and obviously made many errors as pioneers would, but nevertheless has been of great service to those whom they succeeded in colonizing at Woodbine.

The Trustees have never lost their sense of responsibility to the town and its inhabitants. During these forty odd years of effort to develop Woodbine as a successful community, time and again, as the preceding pages have shown, the Trustees have experimented with new ways of accomplishing this end. In spite of their recognition many years ago that colonization could not provide a solution for the occupational redistribution of the Jewish immigrants, and that the choice of Woodbine as a location for a colony was an error, the Trustees have never faltered in their interest in it nor in their desire to help the inhabitants to create a normal American self-reliant community.

CHAPTER IV

JEWISH FARMING AND THE JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

PART 1.—GOING TO THE LAND

WERE one to venture the remark that the Jews have made great progress in agriculture in the United States within the past quarter of a century, no doubt it would be received with incredulity. This is quite natural. For many years the emphasis has been on the failures of Jewish farm colonization, on "summer boarders" agriculture, on the Jewish concentration in the cities and in such industries as the manufacture of clothing and other wearing apparel. The recent, quiet, little-heralded expansion of Jews in various forms of farming in every state of the Union has gone unnoticed. A survey of Jewish farming today would bid fair to counteract the impressions of its doubtful possibilities reported by the United States Immigration Commission twenty-five years ago.[1] These opinions, it may be noted, were held not merely by outsiders. At the inception of the Jewish Agricultural Society, its directors remarked that: "there does not exist, among those of our co-religionists who have the capacity and some means to invest in farms, that earnest and widespread desire to become farmers which had been hoped for."

Back of this pessimistic statement was a history of struggles on the part of the immigrant Jews to settle on the land from the beginnings of their migration to this country. The first decade following the mass-migration of Russian Jews was notable, we have seen, for the many colonies that were founded in various parts of the land. In spite of the almost universal failure of these attempts —the only survivals of this heroic period were the few weak colonies in South Jersey—colonies continued to be organized throughout the Nineties. At the beginning of the second decade, the Baron de Hirsch Fund began Woodbine as its own demonstration of faith in agricultural colonization, and supported to some extent all the independently organized colonies whenever they appealed for aid. The failure of Woodbine as a farming community was pointed to as the final evidence of the agricultural unfitness of the Jews.

It is quite beyond the scope of this volume to give in detail a

history of Jewish farming in the United States. Certain misconceptions that generally prevail nevertheless deserve brief consideration. Their removal will serve to make clear the problems confronting the Jewish farmer and faced by the leaders of the Jewish Agricultural Society in their continuous and remarkably consistent efforts to build the foundations of a healthy and progressive farming movement among the Jewish immigrants.

The Problem of Inexperience

The effort of the immigrant Jews to engage in farming has been usually referred to as a "back to the land" movement. It was rather a "going to the land," an attempt on the part of a people completely divorced from the soil to venture into a new and untried field. Numbers of the immigrant Jews entering farming, it is true, had been farmers in the "old country". These were, however, relatively few and whatever experience they had was often set at naught by the many differences that exist between farming "at home" and in this country. The great majority of the Jewish farmers were drawn from the urban population and from the customary trades and occupations of the city—tailors, carpenters, housepainters, storekeepers, etc. In a recent study made by the Jewish Agricultural Society of a small but representative body of Jewish farmers, 85% came originally from non-agricultural occupations.[2] More than half had had no farm experience whatever, and the experience of the other half "did not amount to much." The Jewish farmer, Professor Sabsovich early pointed out, suffered from the difficulty that he was not familiar with the routine of farming, which the native American farmer inherited as a matter of tradition and training along with his farm. Many a Russian-Jewish farmer spent his means learning this routine and then could not continue. He described the ineptness of some of the farmers observed during the early years. In Chesterfield, Connecticut, for instance, one man fed his horse every second day and wondered at his poor condition. Another Russian farmer was discovered trying to cut a field of wheat with a reaping machine without knives.

Inadequate Capital

Their means, as a rule, were of the slenderest. The study referred to reports the capital of less than half of the group as $2,500. A fourth had not over $1,000 when they bought their farm. One reads in these small sums the story of petty savings, of living with extreme frugality and self-deprivation against the day when they would venture into the unknown with their hard-earned fortune,

without preparation, without technical knowledge, and frequently at an age when the love of adventure and change is no longer a ruling passion.

Lack of Community Life

A more serious obstacle to Jewish settlement on farms was the isolation of the farmer—not merely the physical remoteness of the farmer from his neighbors, but in the case of the Jews, the lack of fellow-Jews and of Jewish communal life. The absence of Jewish religious institutions and the inability of the immigrants to satisfy their social needs created for them a monotonous, depressing atmosphere which the farmer, and particularly his family, were not willing to endure in the long run. This explains the drive toward colonies and group settlement in the early years. Hence, also, the frequent desertion of the farm in those years even in spite of material success. This is not the problem of Jewish farmers alone. Around this factor of isolation the rural sociologists have focussed their explanation of the social aridness of the American farmer's life and the desertion by his children of the farm. Terpenning remarked:[3] "The American rural neighborhood has become the weakest link in the chain of social organization. The value which Jews and other alien peoples have put upon neighborhood association is surely one of the main reasons why they have shunned farm life in America."

Sir Horace Plunkett, long ago, explained the reasons for the apparently inexplicable failure of the Irish immigrants, nurtured on the soil, to undertake farming in the United States, in words that may be almost literally applied to the immigrant Jews:[4]

What the Irishman is really attached to in Ireland, is not a home but a social order. The pleasant amenities, the courtesies, the leisureliness, the associations of religion, and the familiar faces of the neighbors, whose ways and minds are like his and unlike those of any other people; these are the things to which he clings in Ireland and which he remembers in exile. And the rawness and eagerness of America, the lust of the eye and the pride of life that meets him, though with no welcoming aspect, at every turn, the sense of being harshly appraised by new standards of the nature of which he has but the dimmest conception, his helplessness in the fierce current of industrial life in which he is plunged, the climatic extremes of heat and cold, the early hours and few holidays; all these experiences act as a rude shock upon the ill-balanced refinement of the Irish immigrant. . . . I am convinced that a prime cause of the failure of almost every effort to settle them upon the land was the fact that the tenement house, with all its domestic abominations, provided the social order which they brought with them from Ireland, and the lack of which on the western prairie no immediate or prospective physical comfort could make good.

Decades of individual and of group efforts were to pass before the importance of creating an adequate Jewish community life was fully grasped.

Summer-Boarder Farming

In the course of time, with great ingenuity and heroic effort, the Jewish farmers have managed to hold their own, in spite of these and other obstacles. They rarely lost contact with the city, and made use of their connections in ways unknown to the typical American farmer. This explains that remarkable development among them of what has been ironically termed "summer-boarding agriculture", mainly in the Catskill mountain region. In their defense, Schalit, many years ago, explained to the directors of the Jewish Colonization Association this unique method developed by the Jewish immigrant farmer in his struggles to make a living on his farm:[5]

On the whole 86% of Jewish farmers in the United States have settled in the more or less close vicinity of the cities, where, before becoming farmers they had worked at their respective trades. All those farmers, or almost all of them, make quite a considerable income out of their "summer boarders", especially during the first years of their farm-life. All except the South Jersey farmers. In that section the mosquitoes that infest the salt meadows along the Atlantic shore are of unheard of ferocity. As there seems to be a tendency to consider this way of eking out his income as a crime committed by the farmer, and as in America as well as in Europe there is not enough sarcasm to stigmatize these "make-believe farmers," these farmers "in name only," I want to give a few details of the summer boarder industry and to prove its immense usefulness in every respect.

The city Jew buys a farm. What is this farm? Poor soil fertility or run to grass owing to years without cultivation. What is the Jew who buys it? A man without experience or any sort of agricultural knowledge. This farmer buys his farm for, let us say, $3,000. He pays $800 down; the remaining $2,200 he will have to pay in six annual instalments with 5 or 6% interest. He has just $400-500 to buy some wreck of a horse, a few second-hand farm implements and a cow or two. He takes possession in April; he must try to get his neglected property into shape (he may get good advice from the neighboring Jewish farmers). He must prepare, or at least try to prepare something like a harvest, feed his cattle, at any rate. The family does the best it can on as little as possible. But November is coming; the first "instalment" with the interest has to be paid, in all $500-600. Where is he to get them? Even supposing the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society has bought up half the mortgage; the farmer, especially the good farmer, will try to improve his property, and the Lord only knows how much he needs it! He will try to get more cows so as to ensure the support of the family through their dairy products; he will try to develop his poultry raising, but in order to do this he must have some buildings, however primitive, and several incubators; he will need a separator for the milk and feed for the cattle. Where can he get the money for all these things? The

boarders, whom he will take into the house, very much against the grain usually, during the summer months, will provide the necessary funds.

It is hard to imagine the martyrdom of the wife and family of the farmer who has boarders for the season. I wanted to observe it at close range. Getting up at 3 o'clock in the morning, going to bed at 11 o'clock at night, the whole family work like convicts to take care of the 10, 15 or 20 boarders, 30 sometimes, that are crowded 2 and 3 in one room (these boarders are generally of small means). The family sleep where they can, in the kitchen, the stable and out-of-doors. The boarders ruin the fruit trees, trample the vegetable garden, grumble and criticize all the more as they pay less, and it all has to be borne in silence.

But the season is over, the receipts amount to $500-800, even $1,000 and more. This pays part of the mortgage, and the feed and fertilization bill is settled, the cattle can be increased in number, etc. Why the boarder, the summer boarder, is the farmer's Providence and mainstay.

It must not be forgotten that the boarder also means a market right at home, and so much more profitable than the city market, for milk, butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables, etc. that the farms produce. (The Swiss peasants do the same thing and no one thinks of criticizing them.)

People may say, as indeed they have already said, that a great many city Jews buy farms merely for the sake of turning it into a profitable Jewish summer resort. This is true enough, but it often happens that in the end, the needs of the hotel turn the hotel keeper into a farmer. The boarders are not able to pay very much. The Jewish hotel keeper, if we must call him so, has to buy milk, eggs, butter, poultry, etc. which, during the summer months, are exorbitant in price. He may soon notice that the Jewish farmer, his neighbor, who produces all these things himself, is doing a more flourishing business than he, and in spite of himself, whether he likes it or not, he turns farmer. I have seen dozens of these conversions due to enlightened self-interest.

The combination of summer boarding and agriculture was not a Jewish invention, for it had been the practice of native farmers of the region long before the immigrant Jews set foot in the mountain districts. The latter, however, increased and improved the boarding facilities, substituted sanitary plumbing and electric light for the open privy and the kerosene lamp, advertised the health and the esthetic features of the neighborhood and the fact that only home-grown products were served.

Growth of Jewish Farming

No complete survey has ever been made of the number of Jewish farmers in this country. At the turn of the century it was estimated that there were slightly over two hundred Jewish farm families in the United States. There were probably more than twice this number.[6] These were for the most part in South Jersey and in New England, chiefly Connecticut. Few were known to be in the West. Ten years later, the number of Jewish farmers were reported to be over 4,000, representing a farm population of nearly 30,000

immigrant Jews. The majority were concentrated in the East, but many farmers were found in other parts of the country. Recent estimates made by the Jewish Agricultural Society place the number of Jews on farms and gaining their livelihood in part from agricultural operations at 16,000. This represents a total farm population of about 80,000 Jews. That this estimate approximates the probable numbers is indicated by a census in 1927 of the Jewish population in the United States which reported an enumeration of 110,000 Jews living in rural territory.[7] While this comprises a very small percentage of the total Jewish population in the United States (estimated by Linfield at four million two hundred and twenty-eight thousand) it points, nevertheless, to a striking increase in the proportion of the Jews settled on the land. Were one to compare the growth from 1900, when the total estimated Jewish population was about one million and a quarter and the Jewish farm population was not over two thousand, the rate of increase of the Jewish population is less than four times but the increase of the farm population is forty times as large. It becomes clear that there has been a remarkable relative increase in the total number of Jewish farmers.

This unparalleled growth becomes even more striking when we realize that it was completely opposed to the prevailing trend. For, during this period of thirty years, millions of Americans left the farms for the cities, a tendency which before the recent depression was rapidly increasing. It has been calculated that, between 1920 and 1930, the net migration from country to city was nearly six million persons.

Types of Farming

No detailed picture of Jewish agriculture is obtainable at the present time. This is due not merely to the large number of farmers and their wide distribution over the country, but mainly to the fact that the only Jewish organization promoting their welfare, the Jewish Agricultural Society, gathered no information regarding the Jewish farmers who did not come to them for aid.

Today the Jewish farmers are found scattered throughout the country. The majority are located in the States of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio and Michigan. They practice every form of agriculture, the production of grain, vegetables, berries and tobacco. They are dairymen, poultrymen, cotton farmers, orchardists, nurserymen, vineyardists, apiarists, cattle-raisers, mushroom-growers, even hog-raisers. Much of this work involves the hard physical labor Jews are supposed to shun. For

over half a century the South Jersey colonists have braved the scorching heat of the long summers, not to speak of the Jersey mosquito, and continued at the back-breaking tasks of raising vegetables. In the famous tobacco belt of Connecticut, where they have played a leading part in the production of tobacco, they have withstood as well as their neighbors the intense heat and the over-powering odor emanating from the plant.

Poultry-raising is somewhat easier but the recent pronounced development of Jewish immigrant farmers in this field is not due to aversion to physical labor or to other branches of farming, but rather to its special advantages. In the first place, it requires only a relatively small amount of land. This is an important consideration for those who wish to settle in a section which offers improvements such as good roads, schools and transportation facilities, etc. These latter facilities enable them to use the connections which recently emigrated Jews have with consumers in the neighboring cities. Poultry-raising is also free from such natural hazards as droughts and storms. Not a small consideration is the fact that the income on a poultry farm is regular and immediate. In short, it provides better prospects for steady and adequate returns. This explains the peculiar appeal poultry-raising makes upon the city-bred Jewish farmers with some previous experience in business.

In one of the most important poultry production centers in the East, at Toms River, situated in Ocean County, New Jersey, the Jewish farmers own the largest poultry farms and the bulk of the poultry in this county. Here it is non-Jewish farmers that do not entirely depend on poultry farming for their living, but are engaged in town trades such as carpentry, painting, taxi driving, road work, etc. In Monmouth County, in the same State, Jewish poultrymen are in the majority. In Farmingdale, the poultry center of the county, live a compact group of 56 Jewish families within a radius of four miles who keep over 50,000 laying birds. In Petaluma, California, known as the "Egg Basket of the World," Jewish farmers are taking a leading part.

Individual examples of special abilities are numerous. A Jewish farmer in Connecticut pioneered in combining the fattening of cattle with tobacco growing. In so highly specialized a field as hothouse-vegetable growing, two Jewish brothers in Wisconsin, each owning and operating large greenhouses, turn out prize-winning products. Within thirty-five miles of New York, a second-generation farmer runs his hundred-acre intensive fruit-farm most successfully. The Jewish owner of a 30,000-acre wheat farm in Kansas was honored for his services to the agriculture of his region

by a celebration in which high state officials participated on a day which was declared a legal holiday. One might give scores of instances.

Some of the disadvantages that the old-time Jewish farmer suffered, in comparison with the skilled American farmer, are beginning to disappear. This is due to the change that is taking place in the substitution of the modern manufacturing trend in farming in place of the old, subsistence type of farming. The traditional system, in which the main objective was to produce the largest possible quantity and variety of products primarily for home consumption and only slightly for sale, is giving way to a type of farming in which the farmer plants crops of higher market value. This, of course, demands the utilization of the scientific knowledge that is being made available these days more extensively than ever. It is here where the lack of farm tradition of the recent Jewish farmer is not altogether a misfortune, since he offers little of the resistance to the advanced practices which the native farmer displays. The Jew brings with him to the farm something of the progressiveness of the city and its spirit of business enterprise. At times, this takes on a speculative aspect, but, touched with experience and caution, makes him willing to try new methods and ideas. One difficulty, however, must be met. Too often the Jewish farmer takes over an antiquated farm, built generations ago, well-built according to the needs and standards of long ago but now primitive in comparison to the standard to which he must measure up as a producer of food products. We need only contrast, for example, the milk code of any sizable city with its insistence upon purity and low bacterial content, and the unhygienic conditions found on the farms usually offered for sale and available at low prices.

Another difficulty besetting the urbanized Jewish farmer is the competition between farm profits and the higher wages received at different times by a skilled laborer in the city. Hence there was always a comparison of these relative advantages, which explains, in part, the tendency of Jews to leave their farms at certain times, especially when things are not going so well. When they accumulated more money, many came back to the farms.

A Farmer Tells His Story

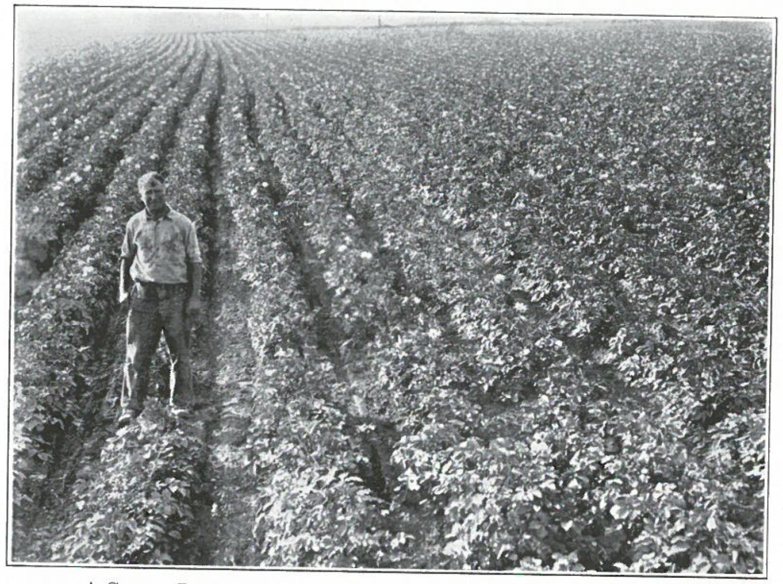
The present trend shows more Americanized types, and younger men, settling on farms, and working in a more scientific way. The story of Jacob Karlin, the East Side prizefighter who became a successful farmer in Long Island, may serve as an illustration.*

* This account of his experiences, written by Mr. Karlin, is given verbatim.

I was born in Jacobstadt, Latvia, Russia, December 25, 1890. When I was four years old, my father left me and my mother in Russia and came to America. He opened up a coal and wood business in the lower East Side of New York. Two years later, he sent for my mother and me to come to America. My first schooling was in the Hebrew Educational Alliance. Later I was transferred to the old Oak Street grade school. Public School No. 1 had just been built and I was transferred there, where I went until the sixth grade. I was fourteen years old then. I got my first position in an umbrella factory where I worked for one year. My father gave up the coal and wood business and we moved to Rosedale, Long Island, which is in the Greater New York limits. Today this section is built up into a residential community. In Rosedale I got my first position on a farm. I worked on that farm until late fall, then I went to New York and got a position in Wall Street as a runner for a stock-broker. For three summers I worked for that farmer and went back in the winter to work in Wall Street. Then the farmer sold his farm to a building lots company and the next summer I got a position with a different farmer. I worked five summers for this man. While I worked in Wall Street in the winter, I would pick up a few dealers every week at different Prize Fighting Clubs, fighting four to six rounds, which was the limit when the first Walker Law came out. I fought in the Bantam Weight class. While working for this last farmer I subscribed for my first farm paper, the American Agriculturist. The next summer the man I worked for five summers moved to the eastern end of Long Island where he bought a farm at Jamesport. So I put an advertisement in the County Review, the weekly newspaper of Suffolk County, for a position on a farm. I got a position on a farm in Calverton, in the town where my farm is located now. For one summer I worked for this farmer. During the summer that I was working on the eastern end of Long Island, my mother still lived in Rosedale, on the west end. There was an old dry goods peddler who came to her house; he told my mother that he had a girl for me. They arranged things so that when I came home that fall I should go to see her. I liked the girl and on the 22nd day of February 1914 we were married. That summer while working in Calverton, I took my wash to a woman who lived on a small farm. I asked her if the place was for sale and she said yes. That fall I bought this farm (which is my home now) for $3,500, giving $100 down and the balance of $20 or more to be paid at every interest date until I had paid $1,000.

I only had saved up $300 while working on the farms, because I had to help with my wages at home as I was the oldest and my father was poor. After having given my wife an engagement and wedding ring, I had little money left. My wife worked for Doubleday, Page and Company, Book Publishers, and had saved $700. With that money she made the wedding and bought furniture. With the balance of my $200 I bought a $25 horse and a few second-hand tools at a farm auction. When my wife and I moved out to the farm on March 1914 I had $14 left when we got off the train. I was the first Jewish farmer in this community or in the county. All my neighbors are Polish and Yankees. I only had fourteen working acres on my twenty-four acre farm when I took up farming. The balance of the land was scrub and cut over land. As the years went by I had a few acres cleaned off every year, which cost me $600. It was very hard going, the first few years, as I was a stranger in the community and no one knew me, the only Jew between Polish and Ku Klux men.

For my first five ton of fertilizer which I needed to farm with, I had to give a chattel mortgage on my crops, horse and tools. But that year I paid for my



A Sea of Irish Cobbler Potatoes in Bloom (June 23, 1932)

This is just one of Jacob Karlin's fields near Calverton, L. I. On the lower East Side, Jake was a prize-fighter and by his own admission was a candidate for a gang. On the Island, in the very heart of Ku-Kluxism, he is a member or an officer in a number of farmer organizations and a crop reporter of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. On numerous occasions his farm was selected by the State Experiment Station for important investigations in the line of plant diseases.



Type of Jewish Farmer

fertilizer, interest on the mortgage, taxes and had a ton of coal, a barrel of flour, a hundred pounds of sugar and some canned fruit and vegetables in the cellar and with $35 profit for the year's work, after all expenses were paid. Now I knew I was here to stay.

The fourteen acres that was clear land was rented to Poles for a number of years and it was in very poor condition. This land when I came here could only grow rye one foot high. I built it up with lime and sweet clover. Every year I took a few acres, seeded to oats for grain and sowed inoculated sweet clover. In later years I added alsike and red clover, which I use now, to build up my soil.

All my Gentile neighbors gave me one year to stay, because whoever rented or owned this farm lost money. I knew gardening and with my wife's help, we grew a good garden for home use, for canning for winter use, some chickens and a cow, which cut our living expenses greatly.

I subscribed for the following farm papers: American Agriculturist, Rural New Yorker, Pennsylvania Farmer, Cappers Farmer, Successful Farming, Market Growers Journal, Farm Journal, Country Gentleman and American Poultry. In 1918 when the Farm Bureau came to the county, I was one of the Charter members. I was made a committeeman on the Farm Bureau and have been one ever since. For the last fifteen years I was selected by the U. S. Department of Agriculture as a crop reporter. For six years the Long Island Vegetable Research Farm, which is a branch of New York State College of Agriculture, used my farm for research work on vegetables, because my farm is in a high state of cultivation. I send for and receive farmer's bulletins with the farm books that I read, which keeps me up to date on farming information. In 1918 I paid the $1,000 and got a deed. After three years farming with one horse, I bought another horse. Then I took a complete set of two horse tools to work with which amounted to $1,200, an engine sprayer, engine digger, engine water-pump and other things. That year with good tools to work with I sold $1,400 worth of cucumber pickles, from two acres, besides a good crop of potatoes, ten acres, two acres of good cauliflower. In 1919 I hired ten acres nearby and with twenty acres of my own cleared land, I sold $7,900 worth of crops with a profit of $5,500. I keep a book record of my farming every year.

When I bought the farm I only had a little three room house, a little shed and no other buildings to speak of. In 1920 I built a barn which cost $6,000, a storage cellar under the whole barn and an elevator to bring produce up and down the cellar. I still lived in the three room house. In 1924 our town sold at an auction, a new wooden school house which was too small, so they had to build a larger building. I bought the school house for $252. The building was 30 x 34. I moved it over with my stump puller, a distance of one half mile. I rebuilt it into a twelve room house.

My family has grown to six. I have three boys and one girl. My oldest boy, who is nineteen years old, works with me on the farm. All my children help with the farm work when not going to High School. They go to High School in Riverhead, a distance of ten miles with the car.

I do carpentering, plumbing and electric work for myself and my neighbors, when they need me. No one ever showed me how to do anything. I picked it up myself. I get along fine with my neighbors. The Polish people come to me with their troubles, and I, being a committeeman on the Farm Bureau, help them out. We have a Federal Crop Credit Association and a Federal Land Bank Association in Riverhead and I help fill out application for neighbors.

In 1925 I bought four more acres adjoining my farm and paid $1,500 which gave me twenty-eight acres all clear land. I built a large tool shed 24 x 50 and an up-to-date poultry house, a steel corn crib. My farm is valued from $20,000 to $22,000. This winter I built a greenhouse to grow early plants. In 1932 I put my truck on the State Road with my daughter attending and sold $1,500 worth of vegetables. Last year I hired a piece of land on the State Road and built a small building for a roadside stand and sold $4,775 worth of vegetables and this year with my greenhouse of early plants and a good season, I expect to increase my roadside business at least one-half more, as I will be prepared with a variety. I am a life member of the Suffolk County Agricultural Society, which have held the County Fair at Riverhead for eighty-five years. I exhibit every year a large variety of vegetables and have won many first prizes. I am a charter member of the Hebrew Synagogue in Riverhead.

Why I took up farming, because I liked outdoor life. At that time, I did not earn enough to commute to work in the city. I took that position on the farm to be near home. I liked farming because there is a variety of work, where in the shops it is the same work every day. Its healthy, independent life appealed to me.

Since the Depression

In the depression the farmer's lot has been less unfavorable than the jobless city worker's. He has not been reduced to bread lines, nor has he suffered demoralization through enforced idleness. Jewish farmers recently asked by the Society, "Would you rather be on the farm than in the city today?" replied affirmatively. They gave reasons: "I can always have food and shelter." "I can accommodate my children (married) who lost their jobs in the city."

Jewish farmers, in fact, are bearing up a little better than their neighbors. Dr. Davidson, General Manager of the Jewish Agricultural Society, attributes this to the nature of the farm depression, which preceded the general commercial and industrial depression by several years and affected those surplus crops raised for the foreign markets, wheat and cotton, and to a lesser degree, livestock and tobacco. Comparatively few Jewish farmers are located in the grain and cotton districts. Having come from the large centers of Jewish population, the majority are situated in the east and those sections of the Middle West where products other than the staples mentioned are raised. Engaging in dairy, poultry, truck and fruit production, for which there is normally a steady demand, they are located near the best markets. When buying power will be restored, these farmers will be the first to benefit.

The serious turnover of Jewish farm enterprises, characteristic of the earlier years, is disappearing. Out of the 812 families directly settled by the J.A.S. between the years 1922 to 1931, nearly seven-tenths were still on their farms at the end of this period. During the five critical years between 1929 and 1933, of the 301 families

settled, eighty-two percent remained. The first few years represent a formative stage in the life of the farmer and usually decide the issue whether or not he is adapted to farming. In spite of the unprecedented conditions prevailing since 1929, there has been no perceptible defection in the ranks of Jewish farmers, no general flight from the farm. This element of stability within recent years, especially since the depression, constitutes perhaps the chief indication of the promise that lies in the Jewish farming situation.

The agricultural profession, as distinguished from the business of farming, includes some eminent Jewish scientists, such men as the members of a pioneer family in Woodbine, Dr. Jacob G. Lipman, dean of the New Jersey State Agricultural College and director of the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, and his brother, Dr. Charles B. Lipman, formerly professor of soil physics in the California Agricultural College, now dean of the graduate school of the University of California; Mordecai Ezekiel, economic advisor of the Secretary of Agriculture; Henry Morgenthau, Jr., who, as Governor of the Farm Credit Administration, brought into being the largest and most comprehensive farm credit system that has ever been devised. Leonard G. Robinson helped frame the original Federal Farm Loan laws and became the first president of a Federal Land Bank, that of Springfield, serving the New England states, New York and New Jersey. Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, formerly Superintendent of the Woodbine Agricultural School, who introduced "Rosen Rye" into this country, is now the head of a comprehensive agricultural reconstruction project in South Russia. Others are Dr. J. J. Taubenhaus, plant pathologist in the Texas Agricultural College; J. Levine, plant pathologist at the Minnesota Experiment Station; Dr. Bernhard Ostrolenk, former Director of the National Farm School; Dr. Gabriel Davidson, General Manager of the Jewish Agricultural Society, and the experts connected with this Society. The unique role these farm specialists have played in the development of farming among the immigrant Jews and in the agricultural life of this country is presented in the following pages.

Part 2.—The Jewish Agricultural Society

SECTION A.—LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS

The Formation of an Agricultural Credit Agency

The need of a special organization to extend agricultural credit to the new body of immigrants was first broached by Mr. Jacob

H. Schiff. Prior to the intimations that Baron de Hirsch was considering plans for an American foundation, Mr. Schiff wrote to his friend, Sir Ernest Cassel:[1]

> I believe you are very intimate with Baron de Hirsch, and I would appreciate it if when you see him you would suggest that he donate a considerable sum to establish an agricultural credit bank in this country. . . . The sole function of such an agricultural bank ought to be the colonization—in business-like fashion—of the Russian, Roumanian and Galician Jews who are constantly pouring into this country.

Ten years were to go by before this matter was again referred to. A decade of trials with colonization and settlements had meanwhile resulted in a clearer grasp of the nature of the difficulties that must be faced in the successful promotion of an agricultural movement among the immigrants.

At the instance of the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Mr. Schiff wrote the Jewish Colonization Association in April 1899 of the necessity of providing means for the settlement of immigrant Jews in the rural districts of the United States.

> The last yearly report of the Agricultural and Industrial Department of the Baron de Hirsch Fund of New York [he stated] contains the results of work which we have accomplished in the interest of the enormous Russo-Jewish immigration to America, partly through means which you have so generously placed at our disposal.
>
> To properly judge the large monetary requirements and the otherwise difficult social and economical problems which confronted us in the settling of the abnormal immigration to the United States within the past 18 years, we beg to call your attention to the statistical list, which will be presented to you at your next meeting and proves that more than 680,000 Jews have immigrated to this country during the said period of time.
>
> By comparing the large numbers of our list with the much smaller aggregate amount of Jewish immigrants who during the same period have been received in all the other parts of the world, you will readily conceive the enormous monetary expenses and labor with which the American Jews have been taxed.
>
> In the interest of the relief of the overcrowded Jewish quarters of the City of New York, we offered inducements to immigrants in the shape of credit, giving them the means to properly settle in rural districts of our country.
>
> From the experience acquired by such measures we can judge with almost a certainty, that such transfers of our immigrants cause their relatives to follow them from the old country directly to places of their new settlement and prevents thereby the danger connected with larger additions to our overcrowded Jewish quarters.
>
> The more favorable industrial and sanitary conditions of our agricultural districts offer to us marked facilities to influence a more healthy development of the social and economical interest of our immigrants and especially by their labor to benefit the agricultural conditions of our country.

In furtherance of this aim, he suggested the founding of a credit institution for the establishment and maintenance of agricultural

and industrial homesteads for these immigrants, for their removal from large cities to suburban homes and other measures as would be conducive to their residence and employment outside the great population centers.

Agreement was swiftly reached on this proposal. The Jewish Colonization Association accepted a ten-year arrangement whereby they were to contribute annually the sum of $80,000. The Baron de Hirsch Fund agreed to contribute, during the same period, the sum of $30,000 annually, and the entire income from the bequest of the Baroness de Hirsch to the Fund, amounting to about $38,500 per annum. The privileges of the credit agency were to be extended to Russian, Roumanian and Galician Jewish immigrants.

In February 1900, the new credit institution was founded as a corporation under the name of "The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society,"* with four definite objectives:

(1) The encouragement and direction of agriculture among Jews in America and the removal of those working in crowded metropolitan sections to agricultural and industrial districts.

(2) The grant of loans to mechanics, artisans, and tradesmen to increase their earning capacity and to enable them to acquire homes in suburban agricultural and industrial districts.

(3) The removal of industries now pursued in congested districts by aiding manufacturers and contractors to transfer their industries outside the large cities.

(4) The encouragement of cooperative creameries and factories and enterprises for canning and preserving fruits and vegetables.

Representing the Fund in the Society were Messrs. William B. Hackenburg, Abraham Abraham, Eugene S. Benjamin and Marx Ottinger; for the Jewish Colonization Association there were Dr. Julius Goldman, Sigmund Neustadt, and Professor Morris Loeb. Dr. Goldman was President.

In the first year of its operation, the Directors of the J.A.S. devoted much of their time to an investigation of methods. As a result, they were convinced that "the policy of the Society for some time to come must be that of acquiring knowledge and possibilities." Nevertheless a start was made in the various activities. Thirty-nine loans for farming purposes, amounting to over $14,000, were extended; practically all these first loans were to farmers of the South Jersey colonies.

* In 1922 the name of the Society was changed to the Jewish Agricultural Society. The present name will be used throughout as a matter of convenience, in the abbreviated form J.A.S.

Industrial Activities

Strong efforts had been made through the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the United Hebrew Charities, to remove industries from the large cities. Nearly all of the many attempts to remove contractors to the country had failed, at New Orange, Carmel, Norma and Bayonne, in New Jersey, and at Chesterfield, Connecticut. The experiment in particular to remove the entire plant of a manufacturer to New Orange and to remove the operatives from the large cities had proved expensive and disastrous. It was agreed that future efforts should be made along new lines. Accordingly, in an effort to enlist cooperation, an Advisory Committee consisting of six "reliable and intelligent manufacturers" was chosen. Mr. Marcus M. Marks was Chairman, and Mr. Benjamin was ex-officio member on behalf of the Society. The members of the committee, all of whom were connected with the clothing industry, were to encourage some of the better contractors to establish plants outside of New York. Industrial building loans were also made to manufacturers who planned to build dwelling houses and factories in the suburbs.

Supplementing these efforts to remove workers to the suburbs, the Society also engaged in the transportation of individuals and families from the congested cities. A start was made in organizing committees out of town to receive these persons. Aid was given to the cooperative establishment of workingmen's houses in agricultural colonies such as Norma and Brotmansville, in the southern part of New Jersey, and in conjunction with efforts in this direction by Mr. Leonard Lewisohn. Through the Hebrew Free Loan Association, mechanics were assisted by the Society with loans totaling $2,000. Almost $35,000 was expended during the year.

The following year was marked by the abandonment of the policy of transferring industries to the suburbs and by the creation of a subsidiary organization to take care of the removal work. The efforts of the Advisory Committee on Industrial Work had been disastrous. Strikes had broken out in all the shops established under the auspices of the committee. It became apparent that industrial enterprises were incapable of removal at any reasonable cost; no system of subsidies could adequately overcome the tendency of manufacturers to seek the larger and cheaper labor markets. However, the maintenance of the existing industrial establishments in the agricultural colonies, even at some pecuniary sacrifice, seemed necessary and justifiable so long as it tended to improve the financial status of the farming population. The Advisory Committee was consequently dissolved, and arrangements were made to close the various contractors' shops as speedily as possible. The Directors felt that "our hopes to create in this manner an outlet for the ever-growing Ghetto have been entirely shattered, and we are compelled to confess ourselves unable to devise plans in this field of activity that will aid in the realization of our aims."

An important consequence of this initial year's endeavors was the clarification of the Society's aim. Essentially, it was "to realize the gradual creation of a class of real farmers rather than the settlement of large numbers." It was not to be a policy of promoting farming on as wide a scale as possible through propaganda, and the lavish aid through capital of persons who had to be artificially stimulated to enter farming. This principle was to be retained throughout the work of the J.A.S.

Later, the position was further defined. The Society believed that "it must not be assumed that every Jewish immigrant can become a farmer or even that all those who claim to have been farmers abroad are fit to take up the work in this country, but we find that the percentage of success can be increased, first, by careful selection of the persons who are to be assisted; second, by the selection of suitable localities, irrespective of the first cost of the ground; third, by continuous supervision of the progress of the farmer and by proper liberality when the occasion arises." This led to the decision to reject applications where the applicant had not sufficient means, and to reject those as well of farmers who were able to get along without assistance, thus practically confining the activity of the Society to persons who had from about $400 to $1200 in capital.

Initial Undertakings in South Jersey Colonies

The direction and care of the South Jersey colonies, with the exception of Woodbine, now devolved upon the J.A.S. Here the situation was quite hopeful. Their relative nearness to Philadelphia and New York had made it possible to enlist efforts on their behalf denied to most of the colonies formed in the South and West. Subsidies granted by the J.C.A. toward the end of the Nineties and carefully administered by the Baron de Hirsch Fund had lifted part of their heavy burden of debt. With their income increased to about $1,500 weekly through the introduction of industries, the colonies of Alliance, Norma and Rosenhayn began to take on a new lease of life. It was noted, nevertheless, that the "indifference to things moral and intellectual in these colonies was exceedingly depressing, and we are of the opinion that among the duties placed upon us, none should be more sacred than the en-

deavor to raise the standard of life and thought among these people." A Bureau of Educational Activities was accordingly created through which libraries were enlarged, a brass band and societies for mutual entertainment organized. Advantage was taken of the presence in this neighborhood of Mr. Louis Mounier, a non-Jewish artist and highly educated person, who had moved from New York to Vineland for the sake of his health, to engage him as director. He was to give weekly lectures alternately at each colony, to superintend a night school, and to take charge of the social and cultural activities. Two social halls were built, at Carmel and at Rosenhayn.

Model Farm Experiment

In fostering farming among Jews, a new move was undertaken in the establishment of a model farm. An experiment was tried at Woodbine, where ten immigrants were placed on farms during a one-year probationary period, supplied with necessary implements, and placed under the guidance of capable persons adapted to teach them American methods of farming. Only two of the immigrants remained at Woodbine at the end of the year. A similar venture was sponsored by Professor Morris Loeb, who felt it would provide economic conditions under which the farm laborer or tenant from abroad could assimilate himself to the American soil without being forced to pass through a period of industrial work in the city. If would-be farmers and their children could first be subjected to a thorough test before investing their savings in a farm they could be trained as farmers without risking their all, and a "natural selection" would take place. These arguments eventually led to the establishment of the Indian Head Test Farm.

The Allivine Cannery

A method more rational than the removal of industries for increasing the resources of a rural community was found in the maintenance of canneries, creameries and other establishments for the marketing of produce, as well as in the fostering of home industries. In cooperation with the Society, Mr. Maurice Fels, of Philadelphia, established the Allivine Company to engage in the canning of various fruits and vegetables. The Allivine Company conducted a demonstration farm and gave lecture courses on agricultural topics. The Jewish farmers of Alliance and vicinity thus found a local market for their produce and were freed from dependence upon the, at times, unscrupulous commission merchants of the city. Loans to farmers in 1901 increased to sixty-seven,

representing $31,447. One of the important pieces of work during the year was the extension of a loan for the purchase of a threshing outfit for eighteen Jewish farmers in North Dakota.

Easing Payments

A change in the policy with regard to loans was made in 1902. Loans made in previous years were usually coupled with the condition that the principal should be returned in ten equal annual installments. It was manifestly impossible for the farmers to meet this requirement, since the actual income in the first few years would barely suffice to pay the legitimate interest charges; and the deferring of collections on notes due in the first few years led to the gradual neglect of their obligations. A better method arrived at was that of calculating a schedule of gradually increasing installments on an amortization basis so that the annual payments of capital and interest increased slowly from the first year to the tenth.

At the request of the J.C.A. loans had been made to farmers in Canada, during 1901. But beginning the following year, the European organization decided to make the Canadian loans on its own account, and thenceforth the J.A.S. was to extend loans only within the boundaries of the United States.

Gradual Progress

In the South Jersey colonies, the industrial situation remained unchanged. There were few failures because there were fewer attempts made to establish new shops. The Society's policy now was to help those already established to keep on their feet, rather than to encourage new contractors to establish factories. The aim was to assure the industrial population fairly steady employment.

Farming operation in South Jersey was being conducted with the least success, in this period. Connecticut farmers were in a far more prosperous condition, as well as those in northern New Jersey and southeast New York. The South Jersey section was beginning to become popular for summer boarders. However, these colonies were remiss in paying installments and interest on their loans from the Society, many of the farmers resenting bitterly any attempt to enforce payment even of interest. The Society, consequently, took the position that "the farmers can gradually be made to rely upon their own resources if they are not treated as objects of charity, but upon a business basis. The assertion cannot be made too often or too emphatically that successful farmers cannot be

made out of paupers or those who consent to go to the country out of sheer necessity."

As in Woodbine, the residents of the colonies were found to be restless and dissatisfied, depending largely upon their earnings in the factories; the younger generation especially was tending to move back to the cities. Lack of social and educational advantages was considered at fault. The J.A.S. therefore continued their assistance in the maintenance of social halls in several of the communities, which accommodated libraries, religious schools and night schools and also served as meeting places for social purposes. Mr. and Mrs. Mounier, directing the cultural and social work, added music lessons to their activities, while religious education was subsidized by the Society. Building loans were also extended to residents of the section.

In Woodbine, the Homeseekers Club was aided with loans totalling $25,000 for 1903 and 1904, for the purpose of building homes for industrial workers, on a cooperative basis. The Society further granted cash and power subsidies to the Fund toward helping Woodbine.

Slowly, the J.A.S. was making its way toward leadership. At the end of the fifth year of its existence, the J.A.S. had come in contact with 1100 farmers representing 6,200 persons, owning about 106,000 acres, the total value of which was estimated to be $2,000,000. To 532 of these farmers loans had been made aggregating $267,000; of this amount, $58,000 had been paid back, in addition to interest charges of $18,000. In view of the fact that the payments during the first few years were the smallest and the hardest for the farmer to make, the amount repaid on account of principal was the best evidence that these farmers were making progress.

In New England, there were settled, through loans from the Society, 334 farmers on 31,000 acres. In practically all instances, it was upon property abandoned by former occupants. In New York, a section of the most healthful portion of the State, Sullivan and Ulster Counties, was opened to Jewish farmers. There were, by the end of 1904, 161 farmers owning 14,000 acres, in these two counties. In New Jersey, the colonies were still firmly holding the settlers; the farming population was even on the increase. There were 311 farmers who owned almost 10,000 acres.

Western Jewish Farmers

Farming conditions in the West were not very healthy among Jews, despite the too-optimistic reports of a Chicago organization called the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America. While the land in the Northwest, especially the Dakotas, was practically free, everything connected with its tilling was expensive, and the chances of crop failure were very great. With the cost of all supplies excessive, the new farmer had to run deeply into debt to the local storekeepers before he could harvest his crop, and a debt so incurred ran at the legal interest of 12%. Without a large supply of ready money during the first year of his residence, the farmer was certain to become hopelessly involved in a permanent indebtedness.

To assist the Milwaukee Agricultural Association formed for the purpose of colonization, the Society advanced $10,000 which was to be used for the purchase of land, livestock, implements and other personal property necessary for the pursuit of farming. All the land which the Milwaukee organization would purchase was to be held in trust for the J.A.S. The following year an additional sum of $1,750 was advanced for the purchase of more farm land for the settlement of families. This attempt at colonization was looked upon with foreboding by New York, which deferred however to the judgment of the western leaders, particularly as the land chosen was fertile and the trustees responsible for the enterprise resided near the colony.

The colony started at Arpin, Wisconsin, was run on a purely paternal system, and proved to be a failure. The affairs of the Milwaukee Agricultural Association were eventually wound up in 1910; the failure of the Arpin colony represented a net loss of $5,000 to the J.A.S.[2] Another undertaking along similar lines was started at Tyler, Texas, where, with the cooperation of the local Jewish community, five families were sent to settle on farms which had been purchased and equipped at the expense of the J.A.S., by the Tyler Committee and the Society. Everything went well until a malignant form of malaria broke out and it was necessary to abandon the colony.

Test Farm Experiment

The Indian Head Test Farm, which had been contemplated for the previous two or three years, was finally established in 1904. The Society purchased a number of acres of land at Kings Park, Long Island, within two hours of New York City. Under the direction of Fred Schmidt, formerly of the Woodbine Agricultural School, the farm was to be run on the same basis as an average American farm. The families settling on these farms for the purpose of getting practical experience as farmers were each to receive a house and an adjacent plot of ground at a nominal monthly

rental, with the understanding that they must surrender possession in case the farmer was discharged from service. The usual wages for day laborers were paid, and as far as possible continuous employment was given to the occupant. It was not expected to make this an agricultural experiment station or a model farm in the usual acceptance of the term, but to approximate all conditions so far as practicable to those existing upon American farms run with a moderate amount of capital.

The Test Farm was slow in demonstrating its value as an educational enterprise. By 1906 there were eighteen men on the farm; of these, thirteen completed a full year's training and left early the next year. Seven were established on farms at Woodbine, while two were settled in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, near farms occupied by some of the previous year's graduates of the Test Farm. Three of the men gave up the idea of farming. Each of the families placed on the Hunterdon County farms was advanced $500 for the purchase of livestock, implements, etc., and a conditional contract of sale was given for the farm. The Directors later decided that it would be advisable that no applicant be placed on the Test Farm who possessed less than $200, and that there should be an understanding with the applicant that when he was placed upon a farm of his own he must pay 10% on account of the purchase price of the farm. In 1907, the Society purchased seventeen farms, costing $30,800, in Hunterdon County; seven were disposed of in the spring and ten were intended for the farmers about to be graduated from the Test Farm. The appropriation for the Test Farm had been increased to a total of $50,000 in 1905.

As for the farmers in the West, the Society decided to cooperate with the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago since it was difficult to send an inspector from New York to the scattered Jewish farmers except at long intervals. The Society therefore advanced $15,000 for 1907 to the Chicago organization for the purpose of making new loans for the account of the Society. The J.A.A.S. was to organize its work on the same lines as the New York Society. It turned out, however, that this arrangement was unsatisfactory.

In the next three years, the work of the J.A.S. continued in this essentially preliminary form. The Directors were still feeling their way in a hitherto untried field. Loans to farmers kept increasing each year until, in 1907, more than 200 loans were extended, amounting to about $115,000, while a total of 1,345 applications for loans had been considered. This was exclusive of the building and industrial loans made in the various colonies. An idea of the

basis upon which loans were granted may be obtained from one of the by-laws of the Society which was passed about 1905. "Loans may be made either on first or second mortgages provided, however, that the amount of each loan, together with any prior lien upon the property upon which the loan is to be made, shall together not aggregate more than 75% of the appraised value of the property."

The situation of the Jewish farmer seemed to be improving year by year. His children were gradually learning to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the agricultural colleges and the experiment stations, and to take up farming as a vocation. The Hartford Jewish Farmers' Association, the Woodbine Farmers' Association and the Association of Jewish Colonies in McIntosh County, North Dakota were manifestations of an effort toward social advancement.

Buying for Resale

In the beginning little provision had been made for aiding buyers of farms. The prospective farm buyer was made acquainted with broad general principles, and sent out in search of a farm that might conform to those principles. Of course he was cautioned not to buy without further consultation. That method had its dangers. Many farm seekers were prevailed upon by unscrupulous farm agents to make their purchases without reporting back to the Society. There was also the steadily increasing difficulty of finding suitable farms for men of small means. Many farms were not available to the Society's clients because these were wholly isolated from Jewish neighbors. It was early seen as essential, when placing Jewish farmers, that they should have neighbors of their own faith and mode of life. For all these reasons, the Society initiated in 1906 the experiment of acquiring farms for resale to applicants at cost and upon easy terms. Several tracts of land were purchased and cut up into small holdings, each tract to hold an average of six families; at Six Points, N. J., thirteen families were thus placed.

South Jersey Advances

In the South Jersey colonies, a gratifying improvement was evident among the farmers during this period. After many years of rather hopeless struggle with adverse conditions, they had at last learned how to make their farms productive. Whereas in former years, any new farmers that came in merely replaced old residents who had left, now a considerable number of people purchased farms from outside parties, a number of sons of older settlers came

back from the cities and bought farms of their own, and all obligations were being met fully and promptly.

Indeed, the change was quite striking, as A. L. Schalit, who had visited these colonies before, observed. "The colonists," he said, "have at last found the right way of managing their farms. They know what to grow so that their work may pay and they have also acquired the necessary agricultural experience. In this respect they have mostly helped themselves. The proportion of farmers living on their farms and living well, at that, has been steadily increasing, and there are several who have put money aside. The old colonists are the ones who have succeeded best, the new ones are hindered by their impatience and even more by the spirit of speculation. The colonists have begun to understand that the era of free gifts is past and that the J.A.S. means business."

The educational and social efforts of Mr. Mounier progressed favorably, and the libraries established by him in every colony continued to circulate books at a surprising rate. Industrially, the situation was satisfactory except in Rosenhayn, where the Society felt that any effort on its part toward subsidizing industry would not be of any lasting benefit to the community.

Removal Work Transferred

The removal work, which in 1903 was placed under separate management, was finally divorced entirely from the Society in 1907.* The J.A.S., however, continued for a time to engage in industrial activities, but only as an aid in building up farm communities. With the growth in the number of Jewish farmers and in their demands upon the Society's resources, industrial features were gradually reduced and eventually completely abandoned. Beginning with the first of the year 1907, Leonard G. Robinson became general manager of the Society, succeeding William Kahn, who resigned after five years of commendable service.

Initiation of New Branches of Work

It was in 1908, a banner year, that the J.A.S. got into its stride at last. Prior to this year the work had been almost exclusively financial. The scope was now broadened when, during the year, four activities were inaugurated. These were the Extension Department, the Employment Bureau, Agricultural Scholarships and the publication of "The Jewish Farmer." The long period of groping and experimenting was bearing fruit.

As early as 1905, the Board of Directors had resolved that the

* For details on the removal activities of the J.A.S. see Chapter Six.

President be authorized to engage an agricultural expert to visit Jewish farmers with a view to improving their knowledge and methods. Now Joseph Pincus, a former graduate and instructor of the Woodbine Agricultural School, was engaged to make periodical visits to the Jewish farming sections with the object of instructing individual farmers in the best farming methods, lecturing on agricultural subjects and organizing farmers' associations. Thus was begun the Extension Department.

Why was it necessary to create an extension bureau especially for Jewish farmers? The need was apparent to the Directors and the staff of the Society. Government extension work, in assuming an elementary knowledge of farm practices, took but little cognizance of the newcomer to the farm. Jewish farmers, drawn almost wholly from non-agricultural occupations, needed a different manner of approach. The problem may be described as one of craftsmanship plus adjustment. The new Jewish farmer had to be oriented to his new conditions at the same time that he was being fitted into his new vocation. The Extension Department was planned to supplement the government's service. The agents of the Society made periodic rounds, giving preference to new farmers, and bringing the latest agricultural information directly to the farmer's door.

One immediate result of this activity was that by the end of the year there were fifteen farmers' associations in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and North Dakota. Primarily, these organizations were agricultural, although they readily entered into the social, civic and religious life of the farmer. Some of the things they aimed to accomplish were cooperative buying of supplies and selling of products, improvement of farming methods, arbitration of disputes and the promotion of social intercourse.

"The Jewish Farmer"

It may be recalled that a bulletin of information had been issued for a year or so at the time of the founding of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. In 1904, Dr. Cyrus Adler had proposed the establishment of a Yiddish farm periodical, but action was deferred. It was felt that unquestionably one of the great disadvantages the average Jewish farmer had to labor under was his ignorance of farming methods. His unfamiliarity with the language precluded his taking advantage of the agricultural papers and government bulletins, and his only means of acquiring knowledge was through experience, which, though effective, was costly. Accordingly, the Jewish farmers in various sections of the country were sounded

out on the question of a Yiddish farm paper. Their endorsement was hearty. In May 1908, the first issue of the periodical appeared.

"The Jewish Farmer" was founded not only as an organ for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge and for the exchange of views, but it was intended to be instrumental in creating a bond of sympathy among Jewish farmers throughout the country. The reception of the periodical was gratifying, for by October the subscription list had increased to 638.

Labor Bureau Replaces Model Farm

The Indian Head Test Farm, in operation for four years, was found to be a costly method of training farmers, and it was abandoned. The net cost of the experiment, after the property had been sold in 1910, was $36,000, or about $9,000 a year. Fifty-eight families had been placed on the Test Farm. Some of them stayed but a few days or weeks, and left either of their own accord or were discharged because they proved unpromising material. Twenty-nine farmers were graduated and provided with independent farms: nine of these met failure and were obliged to give up farming after a more or less protracted struggle. Statistically speaking, 40% of the men placed upon the Test Farm were considered satisfactory graduates, but evidently the net educational results were not such as warranted the continuance of the experiment.

Coincident with the closing of the Test Farm, the Farm Labor Bureau was inaugurated. The aims of the Bureau paralleled those of the Test Farm, but it reached a different class. Farm work did not command a sufficiently large wage to enable men with families to engage in it, and the Test Farm, by making provision for the support of the workers' families, had been intended as a short cut to farm ownership. The new Bureau, on the other hand, was to draw its clientele mostly from younger, unmarried men, and was, therefore, a slower process.

In former years, the Society had succeeded in securing employment for about half a dozen applicants each season who wished to work on farms, but no concentrated effort in this direction had been attempted. The results of the Labor Bureau were satisfactory from the start. Although it started late, this department secured employment for 172 applicants during 1908; of these, twenty-one were married, and five had families.

Helping Farm Children

Whatever might be done for the farmers and no matter how satisfactory their lot might be, all of the work of the Society was



PURE BRED HOLSTEIN BULL
Raised by Son of Jewish Farmer in Rhode Island



A FAMILY HARVESTING PEPPERS AT NORMA, N. J.

but for a day if their children eventually returned to the city. It was much easier and less costly to keep on farms those already there than to assist in the settlement of new farmers. With this end in view, free scholarships were now established for the benefit of the children of Jewish farmers. Their avowed purpose was "to make the child of the Jewish farmer an important factor in the economy of the parental farm; to instil in him a pride in his calling, and to implant in him a love for the soil." These scholarships were in the short courses, from ten weeks to three months in length, given in the winter months by the agricultural colleges of the various states, and were awarded by competition. Those who resided and worked on their fathers' farms and who fulfilled the requirements of the college in their state were eligible. The competition consisted of the writing of a brief essay in English on one of a number of assigned topics which were announced in "The Jewish Farmer." The first year, seven scholarships were awarded, four in New Jersey and three in Connecticut. In the beginning these scholarships were intended solely for the Jewish farm youth, but later their scope was broadened so as to include other Jewish young men who showed a special aptitude for farm work.

New Light

A change of emphasis was now evident in the objectives followed by the Society. "Our aim," it was pointed out in the annual report of 1909, "is not the relief of congestion, nor is it the relief of distress. Though our work helps to accomplish both of these praiseworthy objects, it does so only indirectly. Intense as is our faith in our mission and in the homely blessings that agriculture so abundantly bestows on its votaries, we have not come to the point of believing that the farm is the only solution of the Jewish or any other problem. We have, therefore, no desire, nor do we deem it desirable, to transplant the population of the New York East Side into Connecticut or North Dakota. We believe that a man earning his livelihood by working in a shop or a factory can be just as good a neighbor and citizen as a man earning his livelihood by following the plow. We see no greater reason for every Jew being a farmer than for his being, say, a dentist."

Every failure on a farm, it was suggested, involved not only a financial loss to the farmer himself and his sponsors, but meant a loss as well to the cause that the Society was striving to promote. Not the least important part of the Society's work was to discourage all those who were unfit to engage in agricultural pur-

suits, and who did not possess the elements requisite for success in it. It was only those who were physically, mentally and temperamentally qualified for the life on a farm that the Society strove to help.

This sober position taken by the Directors was in striking contrast to the earlier concerns regarding the immigrant. The waning enthusiasm for the speedy agriculturization of the Jewish immigrant may be ascribed to two factors. First was the failure attending the many well-meant but misdirected efforts at wholesale colonization. An even more potent factor was the ease with which the country was able to absorb industrially the thousands of Jewish immigrants who had given unmistakable evidence of their capacity to adapt themselves to the conditions in their new home.

Federation of Jewish Farmers

From four Jewish farmers' associations prior to 1908, there were by the end of 1909 twenty-five actively functioning associations —ten in New Jersey, seven in New York, five in Connecticut, one in Massachusetts and two in North Dakota. In the following year there were thirty-five Jewish farm associations with a membership of 3,300 farmers. The itinerant instructor, Mr. Pincus, assisted in the organization of these associations, and new ones were springing up in every quarter. "The Jewish Farmer" had become the instrument for general intercommunication among Jewish farmers.

Early in 1909, these associations met to form the Federation of Jewish Farmers of America. In October the Federation sponsored the first annual agricultural fair at the Educational Alliance, in New York. Seventeen farmers' societies took an active part in the exhibition, and 225 Jewish farmers located in seven states exhibited. The exposition served as excellent propaganda for Jewish farming. In the section, "Agricultural Education" were represented the Cornell Agricultural College, the New Haven Experiment Station, the New Jersey College of Agriculture and the Massachusetts Agricultural College. This was true public recognition: American universities taking part in an agricultural exposition organized by Russian Jews. Two years later, New York City's Board of Education, taking cognizance of the interest in farming manifested by Jewish immigrants during the several conventions of the Federation, included in the regular lecture course a series of three lectures on farming delivered in Yiddish by a member of the J.A.S. educational staff.



Prospective Farmers Attending Evening Agricultural Classes in N. Y. City

Cooperative Credit

Another important development in this tenth year of the Society's existence was the decision to form cooperative credit associations among the Jewish farmers. One of the difficulties confronting the American farmer at that time was in obtaining short term credit, as distinguished from mortgage loans. Agricultural credit as such was virtually non-existent at this time, and the farmer was forced to depend for his annual working capital upon the generosity of neighbors, the forbearance of the local storekeeper, or the cupidity of the usurer. In this respect, the American farmer was far out-distanced by continental Europe. In the case of the Jewish farmer, with the approach of spring he was usually at his wits' end to find the wherewithal for seed, fertilizer and general spring requirements.

A moderate loan to tide the farmer over until he could market his crop, obtainable with little red tape, and at no expense, was what such contingencies demanded. Unfortunately, the J.A.S. was in no position to grant loans of this nature. It was too distant from the farming communities to possess an adequate knowledge of the character and needs of the individual farmer or of the merits of his application, without resorting to a special investigation, which was necessarily slow and expensive. This work, if it was to be done at all, could only be done through local agencies.

It was, therefore, decided to initiate a system of cooperative local credit associations, somewhat on the lines of the "Raiffeisen System" which had done so much good work among farmers in Germany. This was an untried field for this country. It was necessary to go slowly.

The discussion of the subject of cooperative credit in the Society's report for the year 1909 is of historical interest. It was one of the earliest public utterances calling attention to the unsatisfactory credit situation which confronted the American farmer, and contained the first definite recommendation of a remedy through the adoption of the European system of cooperative agricultural credit. Recognition of this pioneering work of the J.A.S. was immediate. Professor E. W. Kemmerer, of Princeton, the eminent authority on finance, wrote in the American Economic Review of December, 1912: "The real beginning in the direction of cooperative work was made last year through the influence of the Jewish Agricultural Society."*

* A witty version of the rise of credit unions was put forth by the head of the Society's Extension Department. "The credit union," he observed, "was pulled into the scheme of Jewish farming in America by the horse. The Jewish farmer of

The Second Decade

Unprecedented expansion marked the progress of the Society's work during the next four years. Yet it was an orderly growth, as the results in each of the various aspects of the work demonstrated. By the end of 1913, almost 3,000 loans, aggregating about $1,800,000, had been granted. All records were broken that year when 423 loans for a total of $245,000 were made, with individual applications numbering over 2,000. This represented a steady, year-by-year rise. These loans were distributed over thirty-two states. Thirty per cent of loans made were repaid during the year, even though repayments did not as a rule begin until after two or three years.

Loans were granted for a variety of needs: for the purchase of a farm; for the purchase of equipment; for the construction or repair of buildings; to pay off mortgages or other debts; for working capital. Only a small proportion of all applicants for loans were without any means, and over a third had a capital of $1,000 and over. This disproved the belief that only those who had been more or less of a failure in the urban struggle for existence, and had little to lose, were the ones anxious to try their hand at farming. On the contrary, most of the applicants had been more or less successful in their vocations—the trades, business and even the professions.

The Farm Labor Department, during this period, grew beyond the most sanguine expectations. From 511 persons placed in 1910, the number had increased to 1,117 in 1913. During the six years of its existence 3,578 positions had been found for Jewish farm laborers. They were placed on farms in eighteen states. Among them were thirty-six graduates or former students of the Woodbine Agricultural School, three of the National Farm School, four of the Cornell Agricultural College, five from various American agricultural colleges and ten from agricultural schools abroad. The divergence in the character of the farm labor supplied ran from the boy of fifteen placed upon request of the Jewish Big Brothers'

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Association, to the experienced man with an agricultural training. At this time, wages ranged from $8 to $50 a month; the average wage was $16.63, with maintenance.

That the Jewish immigrant was ready to adapt himself to American conditions was evidenced by the fact that, in 1912, most of the men were placed with non-Jewish farmers. The main drawback in this work was its seasonal character, which kept the Bureau closed for six months in the year, and forced most of its clients to seek other employment during the winter months. But one result was evident; the Jewish immigrant was beginning to be recognized as a dependable type of farm laborer.

Extension Work

Becoming more comprehensive and far-reaching, the work of the Extension Department was likewise developing effectively. Important as the granting of financial assistance to the farmer or prospective farmer doubtless was, it was of no greater importance than educational and moral backing. In fact, it seemed more important to help a man locate on a farm on which he could make a living, than to help him with a loan after he had located on a farm on which he could not thrive. It was more important to help the new farmer save $1,000 in the purchase of his farm than to loan him $1,000 after he had overpaid that much for it.

This extension or field work consisted of periodic visits by members of the educational staff to various Jewish farming communities, where lectures were delivered and individual farmers visited. In 1913 sixty-three lectures were given, at which the attendance was nearly 3,000. In addition, there were eighty meetings of various kinds, thus making the total attendance almost 6,000.

The only Yiddish agricultural paper in existence "The Jewish Farmer" was becoming a home paper to many, as well as the organ of the Jewish farmer in America. Accordingly, hints for the housewife, items for the children, experiences of farmers, and questions and answers found space in it. By 1912 its circulation was around 5,000. Both here and abroad it was to be found in libraries and reading rooms, and subscribers were scattered through forty-six states and in fourteen foreign countries. "The Jewish Farmer" it was evident, was becoming a guide and mentor not only to the farmer and his family, but to those interested in the subject of agriculture in general. It was clearly indicated by the mass of correspondence received by the paper from nearly every corner of the globe, involving the writing of letters in Hebrew, Russian, German, Roumanian, as well as English.

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Organization of Credit Unions

A significant part of the extension work was contributed by the Division of Organization. We have seen how, in 1909, the J.A.S. had decided to organize credit unions as unincorporated or voluntary associations. The first credit union commenced business in May 1911; three were organized that year, in Rensselaer County, N. Y., and in Fairfield County and Ellington, Conn. Five were organized in 1912 and nine in 1913. Eight of these were located in New York, five in New Jersey, and four in Connecticut. Each union raised $500 or more from its members through the sale of shares, and the J.A.S. loaned $1,000 to each organization with which to begin operations. Carrying out the plan and working out details was a committee composed of Professor Morris Loeb, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Eugene Meyer, Jr., and the President of the Society, Alfred Jaretzki.

These associations were controlled entirely by the members. Shares were $5 each, and the holder of one share had the same voice and rights as the holder of, say, 100 shares. Membership was open only to members in good standing of the local Jewish Farmers' Association. Loans were granted only for productive purposes or for urgent needs, and were for a period not exceeding six months or for an amount not over $100. The security was determined by the Credit Committee and was generally the promissory note of the borrower with one or more responsible endorsements. Interest was charged at the rate of six per cent and was payable in advance.

Some of the immediate results of this system of cooperative credit began manifesting themselves in the communities in which these credit unions existed. Greater things were hoped for, however, than the purely economic benefits. The success of the credit unions, it was believed, would teach their members business methods and self-government, imbue them with self-reliance and self-respect, and stimulate them to further efforts in the direction of cooperation and mutual self-help.

It was an encouraging beginning when by 1913 the seventeen credit unions were seen as exercising a potent influence upon the Jewish farmers. With an aggregate membership of 517, and a capital of $9,165 they made loans aggregating $73,000, and their net profits amounted to $1,300.

Commenting upon the work of the J.A.S. in regard to credit unions, the Indianapolis News said editorially in December 1912:

> While there are two bills now in Congress calling for a commission to go abroad and study the question of cooperative credit for farmers, the Jews in New York have organized just such a society and are aiding the Jewish farmers. We do not need commissions to hunt knowledge, we need simply to follow the lead of these Jews and set to work to provide credit. And we need to do it just as they did—which is, simply to do it.

With the organization of the Federation of Jewish Farmers of America, all significant activities of the Jewish farmers found expression through it. In 1913 there were fifty-four constituent associations, exclusive of women's and children's organizations and those of a miscellaneous character. The total membership of 950 was distributed among nine states besides Canada. The Federation's influence on the economic improvement of the Jewish farmer and his social, educational and religious betterment was not inconsiderable. With a capital of but $300, a purchasing bureau was established in 1910. Through its agency, the farmer was enabled to buy his seeds, fertilizers, implements and machinery at a saving of over fifteen per cent, besides getting a superior and guaranteed article. Another advantage was that the farmers dealing through the Federation received liberal credit which they could not otherwise obtain. In 1910, the bureau did over $10,000 worth of business; during 1913 it was more than $43,000.

In the social life of the farmer and in matters educational, the Federation also made its influence felt. The meetings of the associations were made occasions for picnics, festivals and other social gatherings for the wives and children of the farmers. And through common undertakings, the Federation did much to bring about a better understanding between the Jewish farmers and their non-Jewish neighbors.

A new cooperative enterprise among Jewish farmers was created in 1913 with the organization of the Cooperative Fire Insurance Company of Sullivan and Adjoining Counties, in New York. In this section the fire insurance situation had become acute. With the organization of this cooperative company, the insurance companies lowered the premiums of policies from four per cent to as low a rate as one and one-half per cent. The cooperative had been in existence only nine months when it obtained 296 risks, aggregating a total insurance in force of $650,000. It was estimated that the saving to the Jewish farmers in that short period, both directly by those who insured in this company, as well as indirectly by those who obtained better rates from the other companies, amounted to about $35,000.

Still another noteworthy activity of the Society during this period was the awarding of scholarships at agricultural colleges. From twenty awarded in 1910, the number had increased to thirty-five in 1913. In the six years since the inauguration of this

practice, 117 scholarships had been granted. Of those awarded in 1913 nine went to young women. On the whole, the students were not only doing good work in their courses, but upon their return home showed the result of their training by taking a more active part in the management of the parental farms. A marked improvement was evident in the productiveness and appearance of their home farms as well as in those of their neighbors. Thus their influence worked toward the material and social betterment of their communities.

Branch in Chicago

The establishment of a branch office of the Society in Chicago in 1912 was another high water mark of this period. With their vast industrial enterprises and large centers of population, the states in the Middle West were beginning to exert a strong attraction upon the Jewish immigrant. Important Jewish communities had grown up in the large cities. As in the East, many Jews, upon their own initiative, settled upon farms, some in the immediate vicinity of their home cities, while others reached out farther westward and took up farms in the Dakotas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah and even in the Pacific Coast States. For a number of years this field was covered by the Society directly from New York, and also by the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago, which rendered financial assistance to many of these pioneers, both on its own account and with the Society's cooperation. However, that organization ceased active operation, and in 1913 turned over the administration of its affairs to the J.A.S. This resulted in the establishment of the branch office. Besides attending to applications for loans within its territory, the Chicago branch also established a Farm Labor Bureau upon the lines of the New York division.

Discontinuing Farm Purchases

Farm purchases, for the purpose of reselling and aiding prospective farmers in settling, continued for some years, as an experiment. In 1911, after five years of activity, a total of 121 farms had been bought, representing an investment of almost $300,000. It was seen that the results of this reselling system were not altogether satisfactory. The purchaser made, as a rule, a small down payment and received a contract providing for the giving of a deed to him after about one-third of the purchase price had been paid. Because title was retained in the Society, some buyers regarded the farms as the property of the Society and not their own, and there was absent that feeling of responsibility which

springs from a sense of ownership. Accordingly, the project was abandoned and the Farm Settlement Department was established. This was discontinued, however, at the outbreak of the War, but was reopened in 1918.

SECTION B.—FROM THE WAR TO THE PRESENT DAY

War and Retrenchment

With the War came the first break in the uninterrupted record of expansion which the J.A.S. had enjoyed since its creation. Because of financial stress in Europe, the Jewish Colonization Association was, at its request, relieved of further contributions to the J.A.S., and these contributions to the J.A.S. have never been resumed. But the Baron de Hirsch Fund continued its appropriation without interruption, and the Society was thenceforth operated under the sole financial sponsorship of the Fund.

Restriction of activities, as a result of this curtailment of income, was imperative. The severe industrial depression added to the need for retrenchment. The number of loans granted during 1914, for example, was 327, compared with 423 the previous year, a decrease of approximately one-fourth. The only other times that the Society had experienced such a tense situation were during 1906 and 1909 when similar financial uncertainty existed. During all other years, the number of loans granted always had exceeded those of the year previous.

Thanks to the retrenchment, however, the Society was able to close the year 1915 in fair condition. All plans of expansion were abandoned, some of the less urgent activities were suspended and the more important ones curtailed. Despite the many expedients resorted to in order to conform to the reduction of more than one-half of its annual income, the Society succeeded in maintaining the integrity of its entire machinery so that it could resume where it had left off. By the end of the war period, at the close of 1918, activities were not only going strong on all fronts, but there were prospects of further enlargement.

Although it seemed that the temporary halt in Jewish immigration during the War would result in decreased demands upon the J.A.S., as with other organizations whose activities were largely among immigrants, the ebb and flow of immigration had surprisingly little effect upon the work of the Society. The reasons became clear. The average immigrant brought little money with him. It was only after he had lived here for some time, engaged in such occupation as circumstances provided, and had saved up a

little money, that the immigrant could think of a farm. Thus most of the Society's clients were recruited from those who had resided in this country for some years. On the other hand, the industrial depression from which the United States suffered caused considerable involuntary idleness throughout the country. Small tradesmen who found their business no longer profitable, and many working people who had saved a few hundred dollars, were anxious to try their hand at farming before their hard-earned savings were exhausted. Consequently, the demand upon the Society's funds as well as upon its machinery was frequently heavier in this period than during the periods of comparative prosperity.

Loans to farmers continued at an even level; between 350 and 400 were granted each year. By 1918, the total of the loans granted during the nineteen years of the Society's existence had risen to almost 5,000, aggregating $2,760,000, and covering thirty-six states and Canada. It was significant that the repayments by the farmers on their farm loans almost doubled, from $125,000 in 1914 to $243,000 in 1918. This was a gratifying showing, considering the poor, marginal security that the Society was obliged to accept. In 1918, for instance, less than one-tenth of the loans were on first mortgage while nearly one-fourth were on personal notes entirely unsecured. It was particularly pleasing to find that of the unsecured loans, which were for short terms, 90% were repaid promptly upon their maturity. Aside from its ethical significance, it offered a clear indication that the economic status of Jewish farmers was steadily becoming stronger. Another evidence of this was the fact that the average equity of the borrowers rose from $1,667 to $2,370 during this five-year period. The extent of the repayments, moreover, showed that the Society's relations with the Jewish farmers, though philanthropic, were not eleemosynary.

Of added interest in this period was the further defining of the Society's loan policy. While each application for a loan was treated on its merits, it was felt that the Society's first duty was to the man already on the farm, to the old, rather than to the new farmer. All other things being equal, preference was thus given to the farmer trying to maintain himself on his farm. Especially was this true when the J.A.S. was confronted by a shortage of loanable funds.

The endeavors of the Farm Labor Bureau in the war-period were beset with difficulties. Several factors contributed to the decline in the number of placements. With the onset of the War, shutting down of industries released a quantity of labor in the heart of many agricultural districts. With laborers right at hand, obtainable on a per diem instead of a seasonal basis, and without the responsibility of housing and boarding them, the farmer did not go to the city for his labor. In the cities, the throwing out of employment of many young men and women caused a back-to-the-farm movement—a veritable homecoming—of thousands of farm boys and girls glad to spend the summer at home and help the old folks until conditions improved.

When the United States entered the War, in 1917, the situation was reversed: the labor supply almost disappeared. A large number of the young men from whom the Bureau normally recruited its farm laborers was called to the colors. Then, the war industries, through the exceptionally attractive terms of employment they were able to offer—terms with which farmers could not afford to compete—absorbed a large part of the available labor supply. Farmers introduced labor-saving machinery, thus getting along with a minimum of outside help. Finally, dreading a sharp decline in food production at a time when maximum production was a prime necessity, Federal, State and County employment departments excelled one another in a patriotic endeavor to fill the demand for farm labor. Naturally this keen competition reduced the activity both at the New York office and the western branch of the Society.

In spite of these unfavorable conditions, the Bureau managed to place at least 1,000 men on farms each year during this period. Its advertising campaign was broadened, the cooperation of county agents and others was enlisted, and a special agent was employed to canvass the field. In 1917, despite the decreased supply of farm labor, the Bureau placed 1,529 men, a larger number than in any of the nine preceding years. It is interesting to note the cost of this work. In 1914, it was found that the Bureau was run at a cost of $1.13 per capita. No other activity was producing such satisfactory results at so low a figure. And the educational value of the Bureau could not be overestimated.

Agricultural Progress

Though restricted, the efforts of the Extension Department continued unabated. In its field and educational work, the Society began to cooperate with various Federal, State and County organizations promoting agriculture, such as the Farm Bureau, the Farmers' Institutes, and the New York State College of Agriculture. In 1917, the Society's field work was recognized by this college when a special county agent was employed to work among the Jewish farmers in New York State; the college paid the agent's

salary, and the Society his traveling expenses. This arrangement afforded the Jewish farmers in New York ready access to expert agricultural advice and enabled the Society to devote more attention to the localities that had not yet been so favored.

One of the direct results of this itinerant method of instruction was clearly reflected in the more scientific manner in which Jewish farmers were conducting their farming operations. One of these manifestations was the silo, the increased use of which showed progress in that it enabled the farmer to produce milk more economically. In 1910 there were probably not over a dozen Jewish farmers who had silos on their farms; by 1915 there were at least 250. Other noteworthy features were the increased area in alfalfa on Jewish farms, and the attention paid by the Jewish farmers to the poultry industry. Quite a number of old farmers were introducing poultry departments and placing their sons in charge of them.

The English section of "The Jewish Farmer" was started in 1913 and found popular favor with the children of the farmers. Jewish farm boys and girls were urged to make use of the latest Government bulletins, and encouraged to tell their experiences and air their views on subjects of agricultural interest. That this section was successful was shown by the boys' and girls' clubs that were everywhere being organized, and by the increasing number of boys and girls who participated in the agricultural contests held in various parts of the United States, as well as by the number of prizes carried off by them. In addition to its usual departments, the periodical inaugurated a legal department where elementary legal matters of interest to farmers were discussed and knotty questions answered.

Leonard G. Robinson, appointed President of the Federal Land Bank of Springfield in 1917, resigned as General Manager after twelve years in that post. Gabriel Davidson, who had been Assistant Manager since 1907, became the General Manager.

Likewise curtailed during the war-period were the scholarships, which averaged about thirteen or fourteen each year. These agricultural scholarships had so justified their institution that they had become an integral part of the work. They were highly regarded by the colleges to which the Society's students were accredited. With the increasing tendency of Jewish young men to enter the agricultural profession, an experiment was tried in 1916 with a system of loans to those in need. The loans were secured by the promissory notes of the students, payable one year after their leaving college, and bearing no interest. Preference in these

loans was given to upper-class students. Those who were able to go through two or three years by their own efforts, it was felt, showed by their work and perseverance that they had a prior claim to such aid. In that year, four students' loans were granted, aggregating $410.

Foundering of Credit Unions

The cooperative enterprises in which the Society was interested were dealt some severe blows. In the case of the credit unions, the Society had been instrumental in organizing nineteen unions between 1911 and 1915. Because of the absence of enabling legislation in all the states except Massachusetts, the unions in the other states had been formed as voluntary associations. Later, New York enacted a credit union law, and soon after four of the New York credit unions were incorporated under it. This brought them under the supervision of the New York State Banking Department and made them amenable to the regulations governing the institutions subject to the Department's control. Unfortunately, physical conditions in farming communities were such as to make compliance with these regulations difficult, and there was therefore a laxity in living up to them. Moreover, many farmers stressed the borrowing phase of credit unionism without appreciating its constructive side as an educational and cooperative enterprise. They looked upon a credit union as a sort of Free Loan Society instead of as a banking institution to be conducted on business principles.

It was, therefore, found necessary to wind up the affairs of three incorporated New York credit unions, and at the request of the Banking Department, the liquidation was placed in charge of the Society. In this way, the funds of these associations were conserved and their dissolution effected not only without a loss but by the return to the members of the full amount of their subscriptions plus dividends. The fourth incorporated New York credit union obtained a new lease of life from the Department. Two unincorporated credit unions also went into voluntary liquidation, and were likewise able to pay their obligations, redeem their shares in full and pay dividends.

The Federation Disbands

The Federation of Jewish Farmers of America also passed through some critical years. In 1914, the number of constituent associations had grown to sixty-three in eleven states, with a membership of 1,178. But the next year, it lost fourteen of its constituent local associations. This was said to be due to the increase

of dues, and to the discontinuance by the purchasing bureau of its credit business. Nevertheless seven new associations were organized. Formed in 1910, the purchasing bureau of the Federation had been extremely useful in enabling Jewish farmers to make purchases at lower prices. One of the indirect benefits was its educational work; few farmers knew the kind of fertilizer to buy; many bought too much. The greater attention given to dairying, poultry and alfalfa was due largely to the activity of this bureau.

To increase the scope and the efficiency of the Federation, plans were made in 1916 to maintain, with the assistance of the J.A.S., two field men to conduct its educational activities and organization work. The J.A.S. contributed $5,000 for the educational work of the Federation for 1917, on condition that the fiscal affairs of the Federation be supervised by the General Manager of the Society. But the following year it was decided to withdraw the annual subvention granted to the Federation, and all relations were severed with it.

The Federal Farm Law

New cooperative enterprises, however, were continually being sponsored by the Society. Creameries, cooperative exchanges formed to deal in eggs, butter and dairy products and for buying feed and other necessities, a pasteurizing plant, and other cooperative undertakings were inaugurated in various localities, particularly in New York and Connecticut. Savings and Loan Associations also sprang up. In Sullivan and Ulster counties, New York, the farm credit situation was extraordinarily bad, especially where Jewish farmers were concerned. The bonuses exacted at times on gilt-edged first mortgage security were almost incredible —a bonus of 20% was not uncommon. Accordingly, when the New York Land Bank was enacted in 1914, the first to take advantage of it were the Jewish farmers in these counties, who organized the First Farmers' Savings and Loan Association.

Under the Federal Farm Loan Law, fifteen National Farm Loan Associations were organized by Jewish farmers in 1917 and 1918. These had a total membership of 217, who received loans aggregating $530,000. They were in no sense Jewish organizations, for the law under which they were created recognized no difference in race or religion, nor were they engaged in any specific Jewish activity. They were merely reported as having been formed upon the initiative of Jewish farmers, and the majority of the borrowing members were Jews. For the Society, as well as for the farmer, the Land Bank Law operated to advantage. It liberated a large part of the Society's funds, and lessened the demands upon the loan department.

Philadelphia Branch

This five-year period, 1914-1918, was not to terminate without evidence of still greater expansion in the activities of the J.A.S. Early in 1917, the Philadelphia branch of the Society was opened, with Mr. George Goward in charge. Mr. Goward had been the industrial agent of the Baron de Hirsch Fund for the South Jersey Colonies, and had looked after the immigration affairs of the Fund in Philadelphia from the inception of its work in 1890.

Farm Settlement

Another form of expansion was the re-establishment of the Farm Finding or Farm Settlement Bureau. When the enforced retrenchment in expenditures compelled its discontinuance shortly after the outbreak of the War, the work was entrusted to the field investigators to be performed in connection with their other functions. But this was not entirely satisfactory, especially as the number of applications from prospective farmers began to increase. An added reason for the return of the Bureau was the prevalence of fraudulent advertisements and unscrupulous agents who preyed upon Jews seeking farms. To further counteract these practices, the Society resumed its advertising campaign in the Yiddish papers, warning prospective purchasers and offering them the facilities of the Bureau.

The importance of the function performed by the Farm Finding department was evident. The average immigrant often does not realize that success or failure is dependent largely upon the judicious choice of a farm. As a result, many farming failures can be traced to the poor judgment displayed in the original purchase. An apt illustration was furnished at this time by the case of two men who had been partners in business in New York for many years. Upon retiring about seven years before, each with a capital of $20,000, they had gone into farming. One bought a farm in New York State with a large boarding house, the other bought one in Connecticut, suited to tobacco raising. The former died in 1917, almost in poverty, and his widow was obliged to apply to the Society for a loan of $1,300 to pay debts. The latter in the same year made a profit of $70,000 on his tobacco crop.

Closely allied with farm-finding was fraud-prevention. The Society made a searching scrutiny of all doubtful deals brought to its notice for evidence of wrongdoing in their consummation. Its in-

tervention often pulled the farm-buyer out of a bad hole, resulting in cancellation of contracts and return of deposits.

Sanitation Bureau

Secretary of Agriculture Houston's reconstruction plan, in 1917, included the promotion of rural health and sanitation. Months before this program was announced, the J.A.S. had initiated work for the improvement of sanitary conditions among the Jewish farmers.

This departure in the Society's activities was represented by the inauguration of a Sanitation Department in 1918. A report of the New York State Department of Health, made shortly after the poliomyelitis epidemic of 1916, portrayed the woefully unsanitary conditions that then obtained in Ulster and Sullivan counties. Because these two counties contained a large Jewish farm and rural population, and because the J.A.S. was the one Jewish organization operating there, the Society felt it incumbent to launch an improvement campaign in the interest of the general Jewish population of the "mountains."

After a summer's experimental project, the work was incorporated into the Society's permanent program. The Society took counsel with the New York State Health Commissioner and appointed an advisory committee consisting of Dr. Lee K. Frankel and Dr. George M. Price. These health and sanitation experts formulated a concrete program, comprising four major lines of attack, which dealt with sewage disposal, garbage disposal, water supply and the fly menace. The enormous influx each summer of a quarter of a million city folk to these districts multiplied the opportunity for unsanitary conditions, especially in the over-crowded rooming houses, where, with the heavy strain upon primitive sanitary appurtenances, the maintenance of decent standards was by no means easy.

To cope with these problems, a method of approach was created the following year which, though the sanitation activities were later to be broadened, remains essentially the practice today. These methods were as follows:

1. Education by demonstration. This was effected by dealing directly with Jewish farmers through visits to Jewish farm-boarding houses and rooming houses. Through the medium of informal talks to the patrons of these places, sanitary education was carried directly to the guests. In the first year over 10,000 boarders and roomers were reached.

2. Education by lectures was carried on by means of public health mass meetings, lectures to public school children, and illustrated lectures on farm sanitation on the lawns of large boarding-houses. Slides were furnished by the State Department of Health.

3. Education by public health literature. Thousands of sanitation pamphlets and health almanacs furnished by the U. S. Public Health Service and the New York State Board of Health were distributed. The J.A.S. prepared a Yiddish pamphlet on the fly menace and distributed 10,000 copies the first year. Practically every boarding and rooming house was supplied with an illustrated poster prepared by the Society. Articles on sanitation appeared in every number of "The Jewish Farmer."

4. Education through county fair exhibit. A sanitation booth was operated at the Ulster County Fair held in August, 1919, which was thronged with visitors seeking enlightenment on health and sanitation problems.

The Society was thus the first private, non-official organization to embark on a program of such nature and scope.

The J.A.S. and War Work

Like other instruments of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the J.A.S. played a helpful part in the War. Immediately following the declaration of war by the United States, the Society entered upon a special program designed to stimulate greater food production. This program was comprised of (a) cooperation with the Patriotic Farmers' Fund in making emergency loans to Jewish farmers in New York State to help them increase their normal crop production; (b) granting of these emergency loans by the Society to Jewish farmers outside of New York; (c) the placement of more farm hands than ever before in the history of the Farm Labor Bureau, as noted previously; (d) the publication in "The Jewish Farmer" of special articles on increased food production and conservation, and the dissemination of the information contained in the official bulletins; and (e) the offer to several municipalities of the free use of vacant farms owned by the Society. The J.A.S. furthermore subscribed to $100,000 worth of Liberty Bonds. In 1918, the Society also participated in a series of meetings the object of which was to emphasize the necessity of maximum production. As a result of the appeals in "The Jewish Farmer", the area in crops among Jewish farmers was materially increased and the excess-quota subscriptions to the Liberty Loans were appreciable in the districts in which the main Jewish settlements were located.

Post-War Problems

After the War, a process of reorganization set in and the J.A.S. seemed fully recovered from the effects of enforced retrenchment. But the three years of unfavorable conditions that ensued left its

scar upon American agriculture. Among the farmers there was universal discontent, a lowering of morale. Farmers' sons had no desire to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. Farm laborers were hard to procure; they preferred the more remunerative city jobs. The attendance at agricultural colleges fell off. It was the natural result of the upheaval that followed the world conflict. This was intensified by the general unscientific and ill-adapted system of financing and marketing of agricultural products.

As expected, the situation had its effect upon the activities of the Society. During this period there was a general dropping-off in the number of farm seekers, a decline in the number of newly settled farmers, some reduction in the number of loans extended and a falling-off in the number of laborers placed on farms. Only in the educational activities was the pace not slackened; on the contrary, it was accelerated to help the Jewish farmers over the period of depression. And on the whole, the farmers bore their trials with fortitude. The Jewish farm movement was firmly entrenched. Not even a serious depression could shake its foundations.

The loaning feature recovered rapidly after the War, and continued to rise along a slightly curved line until it reached its peak in aggregate amount ($417,000) in 1920, and in the number of loans (473) in 1922. The sifting process had of necessity become increasingly more rigid. Whenever possible an applicant was required first to exhaust the usual sources of credit, such as the Federal Land Banks. It was felt that the aid of the J.A.S. should be reserved for those who could not help themselves through the usual business channels. The record of loans and applications in 1924 serves to illustrate. Almost 800 applications for loans totaling $740,000 were lodged with the Society. Of these only 460 loans totaling $310,000 were granted. The farms were appraised at an average of $8,000 per farm. This left an average equity of $4,600, which was larger than in any prior year. The significant fact was that the average equity was now more than two and one-half times that of the 1913 loans. These equities represented the earnings from the farms put right back into improvements, while the larger equities also indicated the larger initial investment made by farm buyers.

In addition to the direct loans, a number of "indirect loans" were now being granted. Where conditions permitted, borrowers were allowed to raise first mortgages from other sources for amounts larger than existing liens so as to leave a margin for current farm needs, the security of the J.A.S. being weakened to the extent of the excess of the new over the old mortgages. The Federal Land Banks figured mostly in these transactions.

Through every stage of the loaning process, from the lodgment of the application to the advance of the loan, an educational strain ran through this essentially business transaction. Unprofitable enterprises were vetoed, loans for contemplated improvident expenditures were denied. Farm management plans were mapped out and revamped. The J.A.S. experts recommended equipment, which was often bought through the Society's purchasing service. They helped in the selection of livestock and in the planning of farm buildings. The extension of credit was in this way accompanied by instruction in the use of that credit to insure its gainful employment. The primary thought was the benefit to the borrowers, but this practice safeguarded as well the Society's security.

The work of the Farm Labor Bureau was gravely handicapped not only by the adverse influences from which agriculture was suffering but also by a number of new factors. The increasing use of labor-saving machinery operated to reduce the need of hand labor. Naturally farmers showed a greater reluctance to entrust expensive machinery and high-priced animals to the care of unskilled men, and the Society found it much harder than formerly to place inexperienced applicants. On the other hand the demand for the experienced was greater than could be supplied. In the early years of the Bureau, the majority of the men placed were totally inexperienced—in its first year almost 90%. Now these placements constituted less than half. Many of the farm hands who were placed by the J.A.S. went back to the same employers in succeeding years, or, having acquired experience, were able to get positions without help from the Bureau.

Primarily educational, the aim of the Labor Department was principally to train Jewish young men for farm ownership and to fit them for the better-paying farm positions. But the step from farm laborer to farm owner is a big one. More than a farm training is required. For one thing, capital is essential. Hence the number of farm laborers that graduated into farm ownership was necessarily small. But in virtually every case where a farm owner had been evolved from a farm laborer, the resultant farm enterprise was successful.

A striking fact was that almost half of the farm workers in 1924 were born in the United States, and one-fifth came here in early youth. This was an indication that farming was commencing to attract larger numbers of American-born and American-reared Jewish young men.

What Extension Work Included

Its scope constantly broadened and the volume of its work steadily enlarged, the Extension Department, at the end of the quarter-century mark of the Society's existence, included in its program every possible species of agricultural extension. Not only was instruction carried to the farmer's door, but it reached him likewise as a member of his community. In its first year, the Department made 84 visits; in 1924, 1,600. Due to a restricted budget, the work was confined to Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, which were within easy access of the Society's office. The western branch carried on as much extension work in its territory as could be made to dovetail into its regular program.

The phases of activity and the problems handled were manifold. Diversification in farming was emphasized, particularly among such groups as the potato growers of Monmouth County, New Jersey, the tobacco growers in Connecticut, and others. Many an old-timer in the South Jersey colonies was now producing asparagus, alfalfa, and eggs instead of limiting his operations to the raising of sweet potatoes and tomatoes. Advice was given in the varieties of seed adapted to local conditions. Introduction of better livestock was actively urged. Emergency relief measures were suggested in the event of droughts, outbreak of plant diseases and other disastrous occurrences. Dairymen were helped in interpreting health regulations and complying with them economically and efficiently. Farm home beautification was urged, by means of lectures, Yiddish circulars, and prizes to children as well as to farmers. In various communities farmers were organized for the purpose of pooling their purchases. Efforts were made to lower crop production costs. Better seed campaigns were instituted. Attempts were made to introduce a poultry flock on every Jewish farm. Proper marketing of farm products, better roads, better school conditions, improvement of social conditions—these and many other ways of ameliorating the status of the Jewish farmer were part of the program of activity of the Extension Department. If ever the existence of this department was justified, it was during the troublous years after the War, when economical production and proper marketing meant not so much a difference in the margin of profit as the difference between profit and loss, when in truth the farmers' very existence depended upon the proficiency of their farming methods.

The individual visit, carrying instruction direct to the man on the farm, was the most useful form of extension service. He had

to be guided in the purchase of tools and implements, seeds, fertilizers and livestock. He had to be taught the use of machinery and the care of farm animals. And what is more important, a sound system of farm management had to be mapped out for him.

Many problems affected the farmer as a member of a group. Community meetings, illustrated lectures and extension schools brought last-minute information to groups organized by the Society. Provision was made for bodies of farmers to attend county and state fairs, and functions held at agricultural colleges. Field days were held at the best farms in the community for purposes of study and observation. Livestock and poultry clubs were organized. "Farmers' Institutes" were introduced, a form of school in which the prevailing methods and system of agriculture and the various phases of rural life were studied.

To demonstrate the superiority of new methods and to prove the possibilities of hitherto unpracticed branches of farming, agricultural projects were carried on. For such projects the most advanced farms were selected. By these means, the Extension Department introduced poultry-raising into localities where it had theretofore not been engaged in, modern potato-growing into districts whose barren soils had resisted the efforts of even the original husbandmen. Diversification of crops and improvement of dairy stock were effected by this method. In nearly every community, soil improvement projects were undertaken.

Education Through "The Jewish Farmer"

To the agriculturist, "The Jewish Farmer" had become his Bible; to his family it was a household magazine; to the farm aspirant it was a preparatory school. Not only every branch of farming was discussed in its columns but space was also devoted to business, legal questions, insurance, sanitation and other matters affecting the farmer. Its "Ten Commandments for Prospective Farmers" which appeared in one of its earliest issues was reproduced in over a hundred papers—English, German, Russian and Yiddish.

Like "The Jewish Farmer", a poultry text-book in Yiddish, prepared by Israel Kasovich, Associate Editor of the paper, found its way into many foreign countries. Published in 1921, the book covered the entire field of poultry in all its varied phases and was fully illustrated. It served both as a text and a reference book. The reception accorded the poultry book was so gratifying that the following year a Yiddish booklet on "Diseases of Domestic Animals" was published by the Society. It was designed to teach

measures for the prevention of diseases and for the cure of the minor ailments commonly affecting farm animals. The first issue was quickly consumed and a second became necessary to fill an order placed by the Joint Distribution Committee, for use abroad. A third Yiddish publication—"A Handbook on the Farm Horse" made its appearance in 1923. It presented in simple language the essentials of the selection, breeding and care of horses, and the prevention and treatment of their common ailments.

A correspondence course similar to that given by leading agricultural colleges was instituted in 1920. Consisting of a series of lessons supplemented by special articles, it was designed to serve farmers who could not avail themselves of the Society's field work, and prospective farmers who were eager to get a scientific background.

Night School for Prospective Farmers

This course disclosed a strong desire on the part of urban registrants for enlightenment on agricultural matters. To meet this demand, a night school was started toward the close of 1924. The course, given at headquarters, was intended to offer prospective farmers a proper perspective and a sane outlook on farming; to give them information that would aid them in their farm purchases, save them from the clutches of the land shark, and to prevent them from committing those early mistakes which are so difficult to overcome later on. At the very first session, sixty-five men and women were enrolled, workers and business men of mature age. The course consisted of sixteen lectures dealing with the various branches of agriculture and including the fundamental aspects of farm work and farm life. The lectures were illustrated by stereopticon and motion pictures, models, charts and specimens of seeds, feeds, fertilizers and other materials used on the farm. Successful farmers were invited to narrate their experiences.

In 1921 a Purchasing Bureau was created, its purpose to help Jewish farmers to buy farm commodities of approved type and at reduced prices. By making connections with large commercial houses dealing in agricultural supplies, the Bureau was enabled to secure the very best terms for its clients. The purchases ranged from small articles to a $2,550 Mammoth Incubator, and the savings ranged from small amounts to as much as $250. It was also important that the farmer buy commodities of standard makes and approved quality—"seed that germinates, fertilizer that enriches and incubators that do not merely incubate complaints." This service was of especial value to new farmers. In several instances, the Bureau's advice prevented farmers from plunging into loosely organized cooperative undertakings.

Progress in Farm Settlement

The inevitable result of post-war readjustment was an exodus from the farm. Abandoned farmsteads, deserted farm homes, unplowed fields, became a common sight during the period between 1918 and 1924. Despite the agricultural depression, the Society's enforced policy of retrenchment and a shortage of funds available for loans to new farmers, the Farm Settlement Department made definite progress. In this period more than 7,500 applications were received; 1,200 applicants were taken out to examine farms; 2,400 farms were inspected. Out of all this, 665 farmers were settled, and 311 settlement loans were granted. This apparently small number settled should be considered in the light of the Society's aim: "the gradual creation of a class of real farmers rather than the settlement of large numbers . . . farmers cannot be made en masse."

How delicate, complicated and responsible a piece of work this represents, is manifested by the various processes essential in farm settlement. First, comes the problem of sifting the applicants. Farm aspirants have but the haziest idea of what farming comprehends. They are shown that farming is not merely an occupation. It requires capital, experience, physical vigor, a knowledge of business practices; that as a mode of life it requires the capacity of adaptation to new surroundings and to changed conditions.

Finding the farm and fitting the farm to the farmer are the second and third steps in the process. Factors considered are the aspirant's capital, his farm experience, if any, his age, his physical make-up, family requirements and personal predilections. For each applicant, a farm must be selected which best fills his particular requirements. Not only is a thorough knowledge of land values essential but likewise an intimate understanding of human nature. Location of the farm is important: Jewish neighbors and schools must be found to suit the applicant's needs as well as his means.

In the fourth step, the conduct of the purchase negotiations, care must be taken to see that the payments on mortgages are so fixed that the farmer is able to meet them, and that the maturities are arranged so as to come during the income season. The importance of buying on the right terms is obvious. This completes the process of farm settlement in the case of the man who has sufficient means to finance the entire undertaking himself. For those

many farmers who cannot start out unaided, the Bureau secures loans—the final detail in the process.

Backing up these principles of farm settlement, Dr. Peter Speek, in his book "A Stake in the Land," published in 1923, appealed in behalf of the cause of Americanization that the immigrants and future citizens should not be left to the mercy of private and uncontrolled colonization agencies, as well as to unscrupulous farm real-estate agents and land sharks. He demanded that Federal and State Commissions be instituted to protect the immigrant land-seekers, and further pointed out that only two states, Wisconsin and California, had created departments the function of which was to help land settlers.

Expansion of Sanitation Work

In a greater degree than other activities of the J.A.S., the Sanitation Department extended both its scope and the territory which it covered. At first confining itself solely to Ulster and Sullivan counties in New York, the sanitation work was expanded to Connecticut after a survey was made there. In 1924, it took in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. And instead of being confined to individual farmsteads, it began to embrace the larger sanitary problems affecting entire communities.

More than 500 inspections and 300 re-inspections were made each year. At the instance of the department, wells were safeguarded, springs protected, dry toilets repaired, cesspools improved and sewage systems installed. Garbage cans were placed, and as fly prevention, many hundreds of windows and doors were screened. The program expanded in numerous directions. The stereopticon which had been used for lectures to large groups in the first year of activity was supplemented with a portable motion picture machine. In this form of health education, the Society was among the pioneers.

In the same year, 1920, a Sanitation Exhibit was built on the grounds of the Society's new branch office at Ellenville, New York, in the heart of the Jewish farm population. Aside from the government exhibit at West Point, it was the only exhibit of its kind in New York State. A protected well, a spring enclosure, a garbage incinerator, a septic tank, leeching cesspools, sub-soil irrigation system, a scientific dry privy, a Lumsden toilet—all planned with the help of the State Sanitary Engineer—were installed. This equipment was so built that both the details of construction and the methods of operation could be easily examined. The thousands

who visited the exhibit carried away forceful, impressive lessons in modern rural sanitation.

The Department's educational campaign prepared the soil for much needed sanitation legislation. In the domain of sanitary regulation, local boards were supreme, the State exercising only a very general jurisdiction. A simple, clean-cut, easily observable sanitation code—one covering the salient phases stressed in the Department's program—was drawn up, and the J.A.S. representatives went from town board to town board, from village board to village board, urging its adoption. Through the Society's efforts, and with the cooperation of the District State Health officer, three of the townships in the Ulster-Sullivan districts early enacted the sanitary ordinances sponsored by the J.A.S. Other townships gradually fell into line, until today the sanitation code is a part of the health laws of ten townships and six villages.

At the outset it was seen that the sanitary problem as it affects farm districts must include the education of urban people, for whom the country served as a summer abode. Accordingly, the program was correlated to make provision for a series of illustrated lectures in New York City, stressing the essentials to be demanded in summer boarding and rooming houses and the precautions to be observed by the guests if their stay in the country was to be of real benefit. The New York City Board of Education was so favorably impressed that beginning in 1922 these lectures were incorporated into the regular public school lecture course.

Farm Associations

Farmers' organizations among Jews seemingly were incapable of existence for any length of time. The Federation of Jewish Farmers of America was reorganized in 1920, its function to be purely educational—the study of agricultural, sanitary and social problems; it was not to engage in commercial transactions. In the field of cooperation it was to confine itself to the dissemination of recognized cooperative principles. This was a wise step, for the responsibility involved in financial matters was such that the Federation could not properly afford to assume it.

Accordingly the Federation held yearly conventions and conducted several agricultural fairs in New York City. As the Jewish farmers grew in number and importance, it became increasingly evident that their economic problems could not well be dissociated from those of the communities in which these farmers resided. On the other hand, the non-economic problems with which the Federation dealt were of a purely local character, differing in different

communities. Interest in the Federation therefore began to wane, and about 1922 the Federation again became inactive. The local farmers' associations, nevertheless remained, while the Connecticut farmers set up a state organization.

As for the credit unions, they, too, were gradually liquidated, beginning in 1918. Jewish farmers, during the life of these unions, had not only been furnished with a source of personal credit, but had also received valuable training in cooperation. The unions served a particularly useful purpose in a period of transition, when the Jewish farmers' contacts with their community were slight, when they were looked upon with great suspicion by their non-Jewish neighbors, and little credit or few loans were advanced them by local merchants or banks. The fact that many of the unions would peter out after a time merely indicates that in many cases Jewish farmers had succeeded in establishing themselves and had begun to receive aid from general community resources. Hence, these efforts at cooperative organization may be regarded as steps in the process of Americanization, and in their establishment of Jews as accepted members of the farming community. The type of credit extended by the union is now supplied by the seasonal loans granted directly by the Society.

The National Council of Jewish Women

If Jewish farm life was to have a healthy growth it became evident that something must be done further to develop the social side of farm living. As the Society's resources were already heavily taxed, and as it was felt that this was a work eminently within the realm of woman, the Society invited the National Council of Jewish Women to enter the field. It was granted an appropriation of $1,000, later increased to $1,500, toward the maintenance of a woman worker among Jewish farm women. Starting on a small scale in 1918, in Sullivan and Ulster counties, the Council, through its department on Farm and Rural Work, evolved a comprehensive program reaching Jewish farm homes in six eastern, central and western states.

The program of the Council embraced the farm wife, the farm youth and the farm child, and included matters social, educational and religious. Four distinct pieces of work were emphasized: Clubs for farm women, on the programs of which were such subjects as home economics, canning, personal hygiene, home nursing and healthful recreation; Young Folks' Leagues; Parent-Teachers' Associations; and Domestic Science Clubs for girls as well as for their parents. Other activities included traveling libraries, care of children's sewing circles, hiking clubs and lectures. But above all the Council's workers sought out the lone Jewish woman on the farm who had heretofore been forgotten. It was felt that activities which tend to remove the discontent of farm women and the disaffection of farm children, the cause of the wreck of many a promising farm career, were bound to help materially in building up a stable and flourishing Jewish farming class.

Demanding attention as a significant phase of farm life was the religious education of the young. The Council of Jewish Women had been making a laudable effort to fill the want, but it was not equipped adequately to handle these needs. In the South Jersey colonies, as well as in North Dakota, the Jewish Chautauqua Society, subsidized for years by the J.A.S., had conducted classes in Jewish history and religion in the English language in charge of a resident rabbi, but it had been compelled to discontinue. Toward the close of 1923, the matter was laid before the United Synagogue of America which undertook to contribute financially to the maintenance of religious schools in a number of farm communities. The difficulty of providing religious education for farm children lay in the fact that even in comparatively compact communities, distances between farm homes were great. It was hard to get together a sufficiently large group to pay for the services of a teacher even where the parents were relatively well-to-do. The J.A.S. plan called for the pooling of the resources of two or three communities close enough for the instructor to travel from one to another, and yet too far apart to assemble the children in the same school. In this way each group could receive instruction two or three times a week.

Early in 1924 schools were established in New York, Connecticut and Michigan. Each group of schools was governed by a Board of Education composed of members selected by the farmers, the representatives of the United Synagogue, and the J.A.S. The Synagogue contributed half of the teacher's salary, the farmers bearing the rest of the expense.

Ulster-Sullivan Branch and Summer-Boarding Agriculture

A new branch was established in 1920 at Ellenville, New York, in the heart of the mountain district. The aim of the J.A.S. was to help these boarding-house farmers, whose operations have been previously described, and most of whom were receptive, to work out a plan of farming that would dovetail with their boarding business, so that the two would be complementary and not conflicting. Two kinds of farm management plans were put

into operation. The farmer rented out whatever spare rooms he had, providing the rooms with furnishings, cooking and refrigerating facilities, heat and light, and sold the boarders his farm products and whatever else they needed. This brought to the farm a home market than which none was superior. Though the farmer sold his farm products far below what the roomer would have to pay in the city, he realized a return in excess of what he would have received elsewhere. In many instances the rooming housekeeper developed into the hotel keeper, providing his guests not only with rooms but with food and entertainment as well. Consumer and producer thus divided the middleman's or distributor's profit between them.

The mountain section thus was converted into one of the playgrounds of the East. As competition became keener, the appointments became less crude. Thus, the influx of thousands upon thousands into Ulster and Sullivan counties during the summer months created a home market for dairy and poultry products, vegetables and fruits, which otherwise would have had to be shipped and sold at prices often below the cost of production. Because of this market, farmers were encouraged to increase their farm operations.

Thus it is that quite a number of Jews in this region depend solely on farming for their living, and even the great majority of hotel keepers do some farming.

The Recent Agricultural Depression

Since 1925 the J.A.S. has struggled heroically against the handicap of inadequate funds. With the discontinuance of the subsidy of the J.C.A. the loaning fund had remained stationary and the Society's income had shrunk—at the very period when a growing clientele and an expansion of activities would have made an increase in both loan fund and income desirable. Gradually the Society's reserves were being absorbed. The Directors contemplated an appeal to public-spirited Jews in America with the view to raising an American fund. But they yielded to what they considered the more imperative need of stricken European Jewry, and deferred action.

Since immigration had practically ceased, the original purposes of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in recent years had assumed a different aspect. Mr. Benjamin believed that the Fund's main activity should be centered on the J.A.S., 95% of whose protégés still consisted of Russian and Roumanian immigrants. Mr. Rosenwald, opposed in principle to the perpetuity of benevolent foundations for an indefinite period, suggested encroaching upon the capital

of the Fund to the full extent permitted by the terms of the Deed of Trust, providing, of course, the occasion demanded the use of this money. He also suggested the increasing of the rate of interest from five per cent to six per cent on all loans made by the J.A.S., so that it would have sufficient income derived from the difference paid to the Fund on moneys advanced.

After the Trustees had studied the situation critically, sufficient funds were placed at the Society's disposal by the Baron de Hirsch Fund to meet its most urgent loan requirements. The annual subsidy was increased from $68,500 to $78,500—sufficient to make possible the most needed additions to the Society's staff. Further efforts of the fund-raising campaign were abandoned when the Fund decided that up to the limit of its ability it should grant the Society the financial support necessary to meet its increasing demands. Mr. Benjamin presented a plan providing for the loan by the Fund to the Society of $500,000 (including the $175,000 out of capital and surplus already loaned by it) over a period of three years, the loan to be interest free, to run for ten years, and to make allowances for losses and depreciation. This plan was subsequently adopted.

As a result, the Fund placed at the disposal of the Society $100,000 for the year 1928, $75,000 during the year 1930 and $55,000 during the years 1931 and 1932. Including the $175,000 granted, this made a grand total advanced of $405,000, repayable on December 31, 1938. The Society agreed to charge six per cent interest to its borrowers on all new loans and to keep operating expenses, including the cost of maintenance of foreclosed property, within the limits of its income, which consisted of the annual contribution of the Fund and the interest received on its loans.

Before the Fund came to the aid of the Society, activities had shown a tendency to slow up. With a diminished income, the Society's ingenuity had been taxed to the utmost to maintain its ground. Between 1924 and 1927, its resources were barely sufficient to cover even the most urgent demands. Nevertheless those were years of intense activity in all fields of endeavor.

In 1927, when the Fund's advances increased the Society's loaning capacity, and the enhancement of the interest rate on farm loans further increased its income, the J.A.S. had probably the liveliest year in its history. Interest of Jews in farming seemed more intense than ever, and the J.A.S. came in contact in one way or another with probably 30,000 persons, either through individual consultation or group activity. The largest number of loans—570—in its history was granted; it totaled, with the exception of

1920, the largest amount in its history—almost $400,000. The increase was due to normal growth, industrial conditions and an emergency in the Middle West fruit belts. Repayments on loans likewise reached a record high, totaling $300,000. Coolidge prosperity was evidently touching Jewish farmers.

The World Depression

But with the outbreak and continuance of the world depression in trade and industry, the economic position of the farmer took several steps backward. Farm prices reached new low levels. Credit was tightened, and in some sections entirely stopped. Extraordinary burdens were consequently placed on the Society. The demand for its service mounted. The means to supply it declined. The Society's real estate acquisitions, taken in under foreclosures, rose. It became increasingly difficult to sell farms which came into possession of the J.A.S. without too great a sacrifice. The number of accounts in arrears was larger. Losses were heavier. This would have been of small consequence if means had existed to replenish the Society's treasury to make up for the shrinkage. But the loss could only be charged up as an item in the cost of building up an agricultural movement.

The strain on the Society was heavy. Contraction was difficult. The item that could be stricken off the Society's program with least damage was the scholarship for short courses in the agricultural colleges. Beginning in 1930, no scholarships were granted, the first time since their institution in 1908 that they were omitted. Nevertheless the J.A.S. awarded fifteen junior short-course scholarships that year to those excelling in junior club work. These went to boys and girls in Connecticut where the agricultural college gives courses of one week's duration to members of agricultural clubs under government supervision. The cost was modest—$10 per child. In 1931, twelve of these scholarships were awarded, but in 1932 even these were discontinued. However, a few student loans were granted.

In the rigid curtailment of farm loans lay the strongest possibility of retrenchment. At a time of greater need, when a more liberal loaning policy would have been in order, the Society was compelled to reject applications and to pare down loans as never before in its history. The aggregate of loan grants (in 1933) was smaller than in any year since 1915, and comprised less than one-fifth of the amount for which application was made.

Short term loans—emergency loans on promissory notes—increased in number. Several loans were granted to cooperative buying associations. This is a type of loan which has always been looked upon with favor by the Directors of the Society.

Repayments on principal dropped lower each year; last year (1933) it fell to the lowest point in twenty years. In view of the unprecedented conditions and considering the nature of the securities against which the Society lends, the record was considered as standing favorable comparison with that of other mortgage institutions. There was no little satisfaction to be derived from the knowledge that the Society's forbearance had enabled farmers to remain on their farms who might otherwise have been compelled to surrender them and join the ranks of the city's unemployed. Indeed, to such an extent did the Society go to keep some families on the farm that it not only extended payments, but made advances for interest, taxes, insurance, etc. to avert foreclosure on prior mortgages. Even without this aid, however, there was ample proof that the Jewish farmers were holding out in the face of severe distress.

Recent Credit Problems

The strain upon the agricultural credit situation, last year, saw no relief. The J.A.S. received 785 applications for farm loans amounting to $415,748. Only 357 loans, aggregating $101,665, were granted. This was the lowest since 1906, and represented less than one-fourth of the total loans extended in the peak year of 1920. Less than one-quarter of the amount applied for during the year was granted; the proportion had been going down steadily in the depression years.

In March 1932, a statement of the purpose and scope of the farm loan department was submitted by Dr. Gabriel Davidson to the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Since credit forms the groundwork of all the Society's activities, and because of the prevalent, though mistaken belief that Federal financing takes care of the farmer's full credit requirements, the statement is incorporated in part:

> The restrictions imposed by Federal Land Banks are so rigid that large numbers of our farmers cannot avail themselves of the Banks' service. Poultry-raising is a recognized branch of agriculture, considered as such by agricultural colleges, experiment stations and extension service agencies. Yet, because of the alleged risk of the industry and the large proportional investment in buildings, Federal Land Banks look askance upon loans to poultry farmers. Poultry is a favored branch with Jews, and for good reasons. It has stood up better than other types in these hard times.
>
> The Banks are also opposed to loans to farmers who are engaged in the boarding business. While this is likewise our general policy, the policy of the Bank is much more rigid. There are combination farm and boarding proposi-

tions, where farming forms a major element. In such cases the amount, if any, that a farmer can raise from the Banks is so small in relation to the value of the property as to be tantamount to barring him entirely from the benefits. That is why we have to resort to financing them through Building and Loan Associations, a type of financing which is all right in normal times, but which is not nearly so desirable in times of stress. If the Federal Land Banks were to make loans on farms of this character, these farmers would be relieved of the monthly payments and get mortgages on which repayment is spread over a long term of years.

There is another factor that must be reckoned with, namely, the prejudice grounded on the belief that a stranger, coming from the city, possessing no agricultural background, and especially the urbanized Jew, cannot make his way on the farm. Federal loans are made through local Farm Loan Associations composed almost wholly of staid native farmers who have fixed points of view and who are skeptical about the possibility of success of anyone not born and reared on a farm. This attitude works to the particular disadvantage of the new Jewish farmer, who has no farm record by which he can be judged.

These are the only means of obtaining financial aid through Federal agencies. Coming now to the consideration of other sources of agricultural credit, I need hardly point out that the same factors which work to the disadvantage of Jewish farmers in the matter of Federal Land Bank loans also work to their disadvantage in the case of loans through other channels. Besides, the country's agricultural credit structure has for some time been under a great strain.

A drastic falling off in the Society's farm labor placements in the last few years was obviously a result of the economic slump. Against a yearly average of 792 placements in the twenty-year period ending 1930, the Farm Labor Department found positions in 1933 for only 145 young men, the smallest number since its establishment.

Hardest hit of all the Society's activities was the Farm Settlement Department. Even in 1926, less than ten per cent of the farm seekers, 80 out of 880, could be settled. Considerable pains had to be taken with each applicant, and the Society's staff was wholly inadequate. Present-day farming, moreover, requires an investment larger than the average run of farm seekers could make. A large fund was therefore needed for active settlement work. With the outbreak of a period of economic uncertainty the Jewish farmward trend was as persistent as ever. The keen competition against which small business must contend and the unsettled conditions in many trades directed the thoughts of many toward the farm. Yet in the face of the increased number of applicants, the number of actual settlements did not rise. In part this was due to the Society's policy to respond to the needs of established farmers before reaching out to settle new ones.

Constantly dealing with more people and with weightier problems, an ever-increasing effort was required of the Extension Department to help farmers, new and old alike, to keep abreast of the technical progress that is taking place in agriculture. Advance in methods was not confined solely to production practices. It extended also to the merchandising of the product. The Society, in recent years, has arranged tours which enabled the vegetable growers in South Jersey to observe approved methods of grading, packing, shipping, etc. To the vegetable producers in the Ulster-Sullivan district, the Society was helpful in creating a sales organization with regional representatives. In Connecticut the J.A.S. lined up farmers behind the movement sponsored by state authorities to sell products under recognized grades.

Other sections of the Society's extension program, in the past few years, have covered the inauguration of poultry clinics in Woodbine; a project in Perrineville, New Jersey, which had to do with the use of ethelyne gas for the artificial ripening of tomatoes and other crops; the launching of a vigorous milk improvement campaign in the hope that a better grade of milk could in time demand higher prices; a vaccination campaign to prevent heavy losses from the scourge of fowl pox.

A number of cash awards were made by the Society at the suggestion of Dr. Jacob G. Lipman, beginning in 1928, to give recognition to Jewish farmers not so much for general achievement as for the completion of some definite project. In 1931, the last year the prizes were awarded, they fell into the following divisions: marketing, controlling poultry diseases, trying out some new farm practice, stock improvement, beautification of farm home grounds, fire prevention, junior projects for boys, junior projects for girls, safeguarding family health (to farm women), and community organization (to communities). Economy compelled the discontinuance of these prizes.

The Purchasing Bureau became also a selling agency for those farmers who had approved products—seeds, hatching eggs, day-old chicks, etc.—for sale. Thus it served both the buyer and the seller. With the advent of costly equipment greater savings were effected. In the depression, conditions did not warrant the making of any but the most absolutely necessary purchases. The Society felt it best to restrain farmers from making investments that could be deferred and to advise them against undertakings the outcome of which seemed uncertain. More than ever, its object was to secure supplies of high quality. Today it accepts orders only where the purchase cannot be made with equal advantage locally, stressing the obligation of farmers to patronize neighborhood merchants as

much as possible. Lately it has given more and more encouragement to local buying associations to make their own purchases, establishing the initial contacts and letting these organizations function independently.

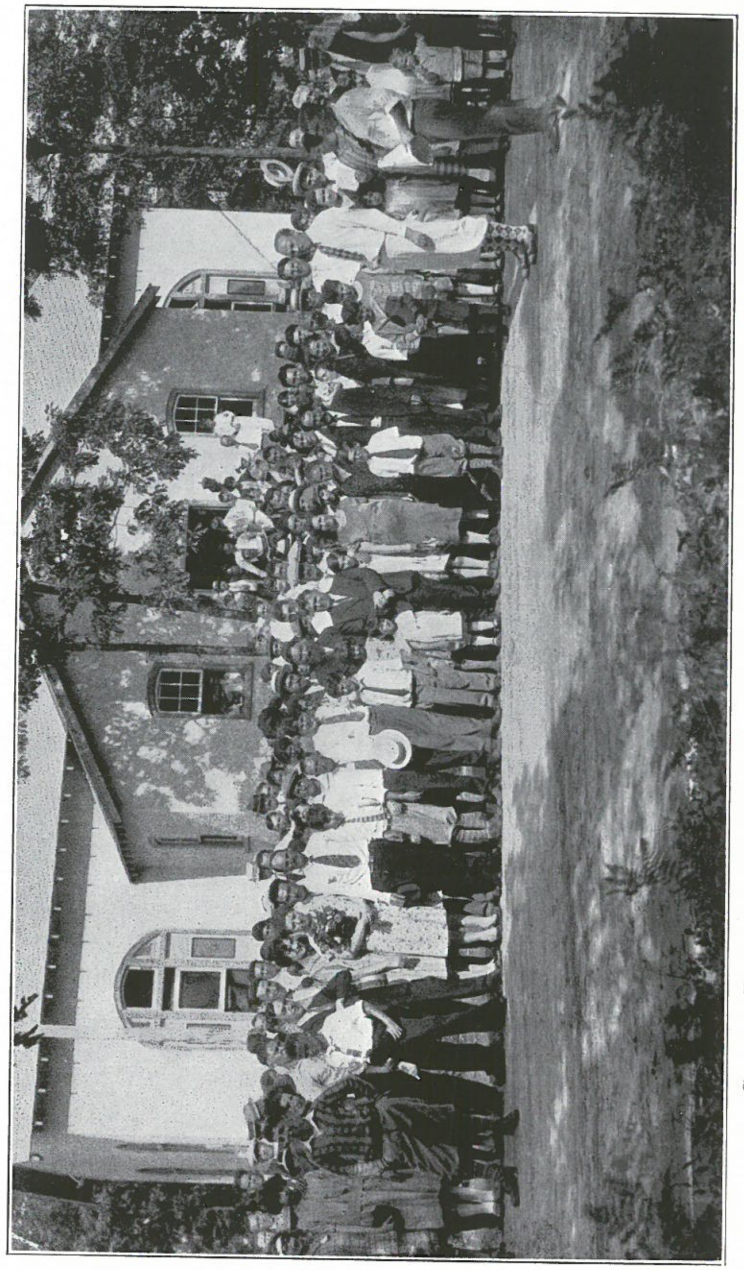
Beginning with the first issue, in 1932, "The Jewish Farmer" began to appear in two sections. One is identical in form and makeup with the issues published heretofore, but of smaller size. The other section consists of a bulletin devoted to a single subject comprehensively treated. The purpose in making this change is to enable the magazine readers to build up a library of publications which are handy in form and valuable for reference purposes. Some of the subjects treated in the bulletins were "The Care and Cultivation of Vegetable Gardens," "The Making of Dairy Products on the Farm," "A Simple Bookkeeping System for Farmers," "Plant Diseases and Insect Pests," and "The Care of Pullets During Summer Months."

With the many extension activities carried on by federal, state and other agencies, the question is still asked: why a special agricultural educational service for Jewish farmers? The answer is still to be found, as it was in 1908 when the department was created, in the fact that most Jewish farmers are yet comparative newcomers, largely first-generation farmers. Jewish farmers make use of governmental agencies, but they also need a type of extension service which is more personal and more direct than public extension service can be—a service more suited to their background, psychology and temperament.

Settlements Created

Farm settlement work, during the period of slump, was pursued in a cautious manner. It was mostly of a preventive character, to dissuade those who were unfit or unprepared to take up farm life. Despite this caution, many more families could have been profitably established on farms had the Society not been so severely circumscribed in the amount of money available for loans for settlement purposes. As a result, in the past year, only fifty new farmers were settled, one of the smallest numbers in the department's history.

The principle of directing settlements instead of permitting the purchaser to make a hit-and-miss selection received official recognition in 1930, when New York State established a Bureau of Farm Information patterned after the Society's Farm Settlement Department. Theretofore the farm-buyer had played little part in



Group of Farmers in Front of Community House Built by Them at Toms River, N. J.

the State's comprehensive agricultural program. Thought was concentrated almost exclusively on the man already on the farm. The J.A.S. had been practically the only agency that took cognizance of the man about to go to the farm. The recommendation of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., then Vice-President of the J.A.S. and Chairman of the Governor's Agricultural Commission, was responsible for the establishment of the State Bureau. However, the J.A.S. still remains practically the only organization rendering this kind of service to an immigrant group in the United States.

The success of this method is no more strikingly illustrated than in the case of the Lakewood-Toms River (New Jersey) Jewish farm community. It stands out in sharp contrast with the colonization efforts of fifty years ago. Toms River was selected for settlement in 1920 because of its adaptation to poultry and truck farming, and its proximity to New York City. By way of experiment, the J.A.S. settled six farmers there the first year. In 1925 the section had 76 Jewish farm families, of whom 65 were settled by the Society. The farms were selected with scrupulous care and bought at low prices. Poultry houses were built and other improvements carried out with the Society's advice. Toms River today is a leading egg producing and poultry center, and Jewish farmers are among the largest producers. Hand in hand with material progress went advance in communal life. The farmers organized a school for religious instruction and built a community center at a cost of $10,000 toward which the J.A.S. loaned $2,000. This center, as well as others in Jewish farming districts, is used for general community purposes in which non-Jews participate. Similar settlements, in New Jersey, those in Flemington and Farmingdale, were built up by the Society and today are on solid foundation.

A special study was made of the farmers of Ocean County, New Jersey, one of the most important poultry producing sections in the East, where the Society was instrumental in settling almost all the Jewish farmers now located there. When the Society first directed its attention to that section in 1920 there were five Jewish farm families. Now there are over one hundred Jewish poultrymen, comprising one-fifth of all the poultrymen in the County, as enumerated in the last United States Census. Their flocks comprise over 150,000 chickens, fully one-half of all the egg-producing birds in the County. The average flock on Jewish farms is 1,689 as against an estimated average of 500 on all poultry farms in the County. The Society made loans to these farmers aggregating $160,000, of which half is outstanding.

The Agro-Industrial Plan

The movement called "subsistence homesteading" was lately inaugurated by the government under the National Industrial Recovery Act as a relief measure designed to correct the overbalance of population in the industrial and urban centers. The plan combines industrial work with a moderate amount of farming, crops being raised merely for subsistence purposes.

A plan devised years before by the directors of the J.A.S., known as the agro-industrial settlement, embraced one phase of this idea as in attempting to combine farming with outside occupations. As early as 1924, the annual report of the J.A.S. called attention to the trend:

> A recent development is the movement on the part of many Jewish workers to acquire homes with small plots of land within commuting distance of the city. Here the wife and children carry on the farm work and the family head devotes his time to farming before and after working hours, week-ends, vacations and at slack periods. This is an auspicious trend. It helps bridge the gap from city to farm, at best a big jump. It eases the period of transition. The man who fits into farm life can go forward on a safer footing, while the man who does not, has not cut himself loose entirely from his city moorings. The children get a taste of farming. There is always present the likelihood that they will become infused with the spirit of farm life and develop into promising material for the future Jewish farm generation, a slow process of producing a farmer, but a decidedly logical one. . . . The advantage of this intermediate step is that it brings country living plus a modicum of farming within the range of the man whose capital is not sufficient to go at once into straight farming. . . . During the course of this year we granted a number of loans to these "workmen farmers." . . . The movement deserves support.

A new avenue of effort was thus opened to the Society. After a lengthy study of the project, Dr. Davidson, the General Manager, submitted a plan to the Board of Directors in April, 1928. It consisted of the establishment of "Workmen's Farms" within commuting area of the city, to benefit two classes of applicants: those who have not sufficient capital to go immediately into straight farming, and those who have sufficient capital but do not want to sever their city connections until they have tested themselves on farms. The plan called for the purchase of a tract of land for subdivision into about 25 farms, containing around five acres, the erection of a house, chicken house and barn, on each plot, and the sale of farms to people of modest means.

At first the preponderance of opinion among the Directors seemed to be that the experience of past colonization attempts was not sufficiently favorable to warrant the Society entering upon another effort. But at Bound Brook, N. J., a settlement along agro-

industrial lines had grown up in 1926 encouraged by the J.A.S. It grew steadily, and by 1929 there were forty families living on these farms, while fourteen others had bought land preparatory to moving there later. The farms ranged in size from four to fifteen acres. At the Bound Brook development, the advantages of the agro-industrial plan were evident. Industry was not brought to the farm, but the farmers were placed near industry. Most industries have dull seasons, and farm management plans could be mapped out which would occupy, to a large extent, this unemployment period.

The Bound Brook colony was visited, early in 1929, by a committee composed of Messrs. Benjamin, Lipman, Arkush and Francis Rosenbaum of the J.A.S. Board of Directors. Based upon their observations on this tour, the committee concluded that a project of this type would be entirely practical and eminently within the scope of the Society's work. The plan was especially adapted to those people who did not immediately intend to lift anchor in the large city, offering the advantages of a compact community life, proximity to the city, and minimizing the risk of financial failure to the farmer and of loss to the Society.

Thus encouraged by its experience in Bound Brook, the J.A.S. launched a project of its own along the same lines. A tract of land in Piscataway Township, Middlesex County, N. J.—close to New Brunswick—was purchased, and subdivided into farms of five and seven and one-half acres. On each unit a house of four or five rooms, a combination barn and garage and a poultry house were built. Mr. Percy S. Straus lent the Society $37,500 to enable it to start the project.

Although there was room for from twenty-five to thirty families the Society preferred to start with a small, select group. Out of a great number of applicants, nine were chosen who had a capital of $3,000 or over and whose qualifications, especially with regard to steadiness of employment stood highest. It was the Society's intention to go further as soon as the first group of buildings had been completed, but the prolongation of the economic depression caused a postponement of further operations. Last year the agro-industrial plan of settlement was not appreciably advanced. The workability of the plan hinges on city employment, not necessarily continuous but fairly dependable.

The Bound Brook colony, before the depression, had been making good progress. As a result, the farmers started on an extensive program. In this they were encouraged by the liberal credit of the lumbermen and feed dealers. Some farmers soon gave up their outside work, thus departing from the underlying principles of the

plan. After the depression set in, many lost their jobs, and with the market break in 1929 and the subsequent fall in the price of eggs, many of the group were in financial difficulties. The Society had to make loans to help the farmers out. Nevertheless, they were fortunate in having the farm to fall back upon.

Adances in Cooperation

In times like these, cooperation among farmers assumes an added significance. Cooperative groups sponsored by the J.A.S. accordingly have increased in number in recent years. One of the important developments was in the direction of fire insurance. This was a vexing problem, as we have seen, due to the many difficulties inherent in fire insurance on farm property. Farm fires in the United States take a toll of about $100,000,000 annually. The absence of fire codes, of regulations regarding materials used in farm buildings, the lightning hazard, the inadequacy of fire fighting machinery all tend to multiply the risk of loss. Naturally, farm insurance is harder to write than insurance on city property, and more expensive. Many insurance companies decline to handle farm insurance altogether. This creates a serious situation for the farmer and also affects his mortgage problem.

The J.A.S. therefore began to handle thousands of policies each year, including every step from the procurement of policies to the adjustment of losses and the collection of indemnities. Then considerable effort was spent, as we noted, in the development of a mutual fire insurance company in the mountain district of New York, where the insurance situation had become acute. The original cooperative company evolved into five, carrying a total of over $11,000,000 in risks on farms and boarding houses. A mutual fire insurance company of smaller size was organized with the Society's help in Rensselaer County, N. Y., in 1928 and has been functioning since.

Within the last few years, thirteen cooperative associations were formed with the Society's aid to engage in collective buying, marketing and cooperative lending. In 1929, the General Manager appeared before a New Jersey Senate Committee to advocate amendment to the credit union law to permit farmers to form credit associations. Shortly after the amendment was passed, a charter was granted to a Jewish group in Perrineville, N. J., the first credit union among farmers to be organized under the New Jersey law.

The type of cooperative association existing today is illustrated by the Central Jersey Farmers' Cooperative Association, which purchases feed, fertilizer, etc. The Nearby Farmers' Cooperative Association promotes the purchase by consumers of trademarked food products; it began with eggs. Farmers in Connecticut formed a chick buying pool, recently, in which 65,000 selected chicks were bought at a saving of fifteen per cent.

It is difficult to estimate the pecuniary benefit derived through the savings on pooled purchases because the very creation of cooperatives so often results in the immediate fall of prices charged by local dealers. In the case of the Rensselaer County insurance company, its formation was followed by a reduction of premium rates by stock companies. In the matter of joint selling, cooperation steadies the market and at times results in a rise of price.

To bring Jewish leaders in agriculture together for the purpose of exchanging ideas, relating experiences and discussing the essentials of farm leadership, a National Conference of Jewish Farmers was held at the Educational Alliance in New York in October, 1930. At the agricultural exposition held in conjunction with the conference, farm products of every description were exhibited. Originally scheduled for two days, the exhibit was upon request kept open for a full week.

Social Service Aid

Questions involving the business phases of farming have always been brought to the J.A.S. As may be expected, in times of stress they come in larger volume. Composing partnership difficulties, filling out applications for loans from Federal Land Banks and other mortgage institutions, obtaining widows' pensions and workmen's compensation, the preparation of legal papers, the examination of contracts affecting farm titles, many of which were perfected only when hidden defects were disclosed through the searches made in the course of the Society's loans—these are but a few types of the manifold matters presented to the J.A.S.

A phase of "extra-jurisdictional" service which the J.A.S. has been continually called upon to perform, may be termed social welfare. A farmer, desperately ill with inoperable cancer, has neither medical nor nursing attention. He appeals to the J.A.S. and the Society has him admitted to a hospital and radium therapy obtained for him. A student at an agricultural college finds that his defective hearing is handicapping him in his studies. His application for a loan to buy an ear phone is not only granted but the J.A.S. has him examined by an aurist, without cost to the student. Time and again the J.A.S. has been instrumental in placing the wards of juvenile societies in out-of-door employ-

ment, in finding moderate-priced country accommodations for convalescent protégés of welfare agencies, and in obtaining jobs for people who need country life and are not able to do farm work. Orphanages have drawn upon the Society's aid in finding for their charges farm homes where proper physical and moral standards are maintained. How all-inclusive are the activities of the Society may be seen by the work of the Ellenville branch. The location of this office in the heart of a dense Jewish farm population makes it the center to which are brought problems of every conceivable nature. Domestic relations, juvenile delinquency, disputes between neighbors, naturalization, help in obtaining visas, the adjustment of difficulties with utility companies—these are a few of the many matters laid on its doorstep.

A Survey

Surveying the sum of the Society's efforts, a picture of its endeavors in the many fields is brought into relief. In the thirty-three years of its history, out of 33,000 applications, nearly 11,000 loans were advanced to farmers in 40 states, totaling over $6,000,000.* Loans were also made to help in the erection of synagogues and community centers in half a dozen states. Before the depression, for a period of thirty years, the rate of loss was about 4 per cent of the total loans made. This was despite the marginal nature of the security not ordinarily accepted by mortgage lenders, and gives remarkable evidence of the integrity of the borrowers, as well as of the constructive character of the service. Figured on a basis of five to a family, the Society's loans have benefited over 50,000 individuals.

In the last ten years, nearly 10,000 persons sought the Society's advice about establishing themselves on farms. Through the direct instrumentality of its Farm Settlement Department, 812 families were settled. Some of these in turn brought others. Again, some of the Society's clients felt competent enough to buy farms of their own choosing after having received advice along general lines. It may be conservatively estimated that this department was responsible, directly or indirectly, for the settlement of 6,000 persons during the decade. The relatively small proportion of farmers settled to applicants is an indication of the caution exercised by the Society in advising a man to embark on a farm venture.

* This takes no account, on the one hand, of the instances where loans were made to partnerships consisting of two or more families, nor, on the other, of the fact that in many cases a number of loans were made on the same farm and to the same people.

Migration to the farm is followed by migration to towns and villages. A journey through Jewish farm districts, whether in New York, Michigan or elsewhere, will disclose the presence in the nearby towns and villages of Jewish stores, shops, small factories, and along the countrysides, hotels and boarding houses. Much of this had its foundation in farming. Some of the people were originally farmers; at any rate, most of them went to rural sections because of the existence of Jewish farm settlements. South Haven, Michigan, for instance, which a generation ago had only two Jewish families, now has Jewish grocery stores, butcher shops, bakeries, dry goods stores, crockery stores, haberdasheries and three factories run by Jews.

Since the inauguration of the short-course agricultural scholarship awards, 340 were given by the Society. From 1924 to 1931, eighty-one annual awards of junior scholarships to farm boys and girls were made. Sixty-three loans were granted to fifty-one students, ranging in amount from $50 to $300, and aggregating more than $10,000. All told, three-fifths of these are in agriculture and related vocations. Regarding night school students, thirty-nine former students are known to be established farmers.

The Sanitation Department has made, all told, about 12,000 investigations since its creation. In the course of these investigations, and through the medium of lectures and sanitation talks, it reaches thousands of people each year.

Since 1908, the Farm Labor Bureau has made 17,500 placements, distributed over 32 states. In the first year, only twelve per cent of the placements were of men with training. In the last three years, more than half possessed experience, counting as experience training in agricultural school or college or at least a full season's work on a farm. Partial records show that at least 150 farm laborers have developed into farm owners. The number is not small when we remember that it takes money to graduate into the farm ownership class. For the entire period, the cost per placement was surprisingly low, only $3.06.

Pioneering

The Jewish Agricultural Society launched its itinerant instruction program two years before the first regularly constituted county agricultural agent took up his duties in the northern states. County agent work parallels to a large extent the work done by the Society's field instructors.

The Society was for a long time the only agency to direct the settlement of farm buyers. Even now there is very little done

along that line. It was not until 1930 that the Bureau of Farm Information was set up by the State of New York.

While most State Colleges render service in the field of rural sanitation through their engineering departments, there is no agency other than the Society's Sanitation Department which carries on consistent rural sanitation work. It must be noted again that the state work is carried on from the standpoint of engineering, while the Society's activity is conducted from the standpoint of health promotion.

Part-time farming, for a long time frowned upon, has always been regarded by the Society as sound farm economy. Only under the New Deal legislation has it received just recognition and the part-time farmer been made eligible for Federal farm loans.

The subject of credit unions has already been touched upon. The Society was the pioneer in this field. The Society's night school is probably the only school to impart instruction in agriculture to an immigrant group.

From its very beginning the Society granted farm loans on junior mortgages. This was its primary function. References are to be found in the reports of United States Secretaries of Agriculture to the need of second mortgage credit for farmers. That need was not filled by Federal Land Banks, whose loans were made wholly against first mortgages. Not until the enactment of the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933 was provision made by the Federal Government for second mortgage loans to farmers. The Federal law was a product of the depression, and, as enacted, is a temporary relief measure.

This record of the Jewish Agricultural Society covers a third of a century. In many ways it is a unique story of achievement. Not one of the various means through which Baron de Hirsch aimed to regenerate the East-European Jews in their new homeland was as close to his heart as the reconstruction of Jewish life through agriculture. The unexpected and baffling difficulties encountered in the Argentine colonies, in Woodbine and elsewhere in America, in the early years, never weakened his faith in the eventual transformation of an appreciable part of the impoverished, urbanized, immigrant Jews into "free farmers on their own soil."

In these three decades of sober and cautious efforts, of "trial and error" in an amazing number of directions, the Jewish Agricultural Society has succeeded in evolving the appropriate methods by which thousands of immigrants have become independent, self-

respecting American farmers. From a mere credit agency it has developed into an agricultural experiment station in which is encompassed the entire range of needs and interests—human and social, as well as technical—of the Jewish farmer and the rural community of which he is part.

along that line. It was not until 1930 that the Bureau of Farm Information was set up by the State of New York.

While most State Colleges render service in the field of rural sanitation through their engineering departments, there is no agency other than the Society's Sanitation Department which carries on consistent rural sanitation work. It must be noted again that the state work is carried on from the standpoint of engineering, while the Society's activity is conducted from the standpoint of health promotion.

Part-time farming, for a long time frowned upon, has always been regarded by the Society as sound farm economy. Only under the New Deal legislation has it received just recognition and the part-time farmer been made eligible for Federal farm loans.

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CHAPTER V

A NEW ATTACK ON CONGESTION

PART 1.—THE INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL OFFICE*

THE concentration of the Jewish immigrants in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard was, as we have seen, the quite natural result of a combination of factors. These were, mainly, the location of the ports of entry—the immigrant-receiving stations—on the borders of the Atlantic seacoast, the industrial and commercial opportunities available to the newly arrived immigrants in the large towns of the East, and earlier settlement there of their kin or friends. Hence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston absorbed the greater part of this influx. The inland cities of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati and Cleveland received the overflow of this movement, and small numbers drifted as far as the Pacific Coast. It was clear that this tide was not following the normal movement of population throughout the country. Particularly serious appeared to be the tendency of the greatest number of the Jewish immigrants—regularly over seventy per cent—to settle in New York.

How absorbed were the trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund with the problem of relieving the immense and augmenting overcrowding on the East Side of New York City, the preceding pages have amply shown. They had tried out almost every possible solution—agricultural colonization, suburbanization (on a small scale), the removal of industries to outlying districts, the transportation of families to a smaller towns and industrial centers, and so on. In the face of a continuous inpouring of tens of thousands in the Nineties, the resettlement of a few hundreds a year, carried on in an unsystematic, planless fashion, seemed woefully inadequate.

Removal Work of the J.A.S.

It was in the hope that a more effective attack on congestion could be made that the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was organized in 1900. Through the stimulation of agri-

* For convenience this organization will be referred to as the I.R.O.

culture among the immigrant Jews, and the promotion of industries in the farming settlements and colonies, the movement from the city to the country, it was expected, would be greatly accelerated. Another phase included in this program was to be the removal of individuals and families, wherever work and better conditions of living could be found for them. The stress now was to be placed upon individual removals, rather than upon mass distribution, quite analogous to the aid that was to be given to single farmers in the agricultural scheme. It was the opinion of the Directors that the time was ripe for the Society "to undertake on as large a scale as possible the removal from large cities of as many of our co-religionists as possible, in order not only to clear the way for the continual stream of immigrants arriving here, but also to relieve the prevailing conditions in our Ghettos."

An added stimulus to this undertaking was the great influx of Roumanian Jews, at the beginning of the century, driven here by the oppressive laws directed against the Jews in that land. To the half million Jews already in New York, many thousands of immigrants from Roumania were being added annually. A Roumanian Relief Committee undertook to care for this group and included among its activities their distribution to other parts of the country. To its transportation fund, the Jewish Agricultural Society contributed the sum of $5,000. The difficulties attending this emergency undertaking made it evident that work of this character could be accomplished more successfully under the supervision of the J.A.S. rather than under the auspices of a sorely beset temporary relief committee.

Organization of I.R.O.

The Industrial Removal Office came to life on January 24, 1901, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agricultural Society when Louis Kahn was engaged as traveling agent of the Society for a period of eight months. He was instructed to cooperate with the B'nai B'rith and other organizations and persons willing to assist for the purpose of removing Roumanian immigrants and other Jewish inhabitants from the large eastern cities of the United States. A store was rented at number 34 Stanton Street and named the "Industrial Removal Office." Later it was transferred to 174 Second Avenue. Professor Morris Loeb and Mr. Fred M. Stein were designated to take charge.

The work was systematically organized along these lines:

1. Agents were sent to travel through various sections of the country, for the purpose of obtaining orders for employment at

satisfactory wages, and of facilitating communication with the local Jewish organizations. They were obliged to send definite requisitions, stating the name of the employing firm, the nature of the work, and the person who would be willing to receive and look after the immigrant after his arrival.

2. Cooperation with local committees, willing to procure orders for people to be forwarded and to assist them upon arrival.

3. The establishment of a regular bureau in New York, which should note the requests received from the various agents and local committees, and endeavor to fill them out of the lists of persons already carefully investigated as to their ability, reputation and capacity for work.

Outside of New York, the local committees were, in the main, organized by the Independent Order B'nai B'rith. It was peculiarly fitted to undertake the task of distributing these immigrants upon their arrival, by virtue of its character as a strong and comprehensive organization, represented in the most important towns and cities in the Union. The Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith issued bulletins to the various lodges in the West and South earnestly requesting them to organize in such a way as to make it possible to effect the purpose in view. It was significant that the first chairman of the Roumanian Relief Committee had been Leo N. Levi, president of the B'nai B'rith, who through his organization and his own efforts vigorously aided the work of distribution.

Doubt had been felt at the outset whether any considerable number of suitable persons could be found who were willing to leave the city. But the Removal Office was soon overrun by eager applicants and the difficulty of registering and properly investigating the applicants who did appear was much greater than had been expected. Particularly was this the case with recently arrived immigrants. But the greatest problem was to arouse communities other than the port cities—particularly in the West and South—to do their share in absorbing the new immigrants. This was no easy task. The interior communities were at first indifferent; they were unable to realize the serious problems of the Eastern cities, and they frequently objected to the character of the immigrants sent. On numerous occasions, when an individual failed to keep his job and became a burden upon the community, the heads of the local charities would hasten to protest to the I.R.O.

In Philadelphia steps were taken to assist this effort through the employment agent of the Philadelphia branch of the Fund, George Goward, though a note of skepticism was touched by the President of the United Hebrew Charities of this city who remarked that "the idea of breaking up the Ghettos . . . may seem visionary, and efforts in that direction may be deemed futile."[1] Mr. Goward made a number of trips through New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and succeeded in placing several hundred persons, the great majority in Woodbine and other colonies in South Jersey.

Nearly 2,000 persons were removed to 250 places throughout the country in this first year—1901—of the Office's existence. This was done despite the fact that much energy and time had to be consumed in preliminary organization.

Nearly four-fifths of those sent away in 1901 were satisfactorily located, a result far surpassing expectation. The actual per capita expenditure for transportation was $9.60; with four out of five removals successful, upwards of 1,500 persons had been distributed at a per capita cost of $12. This amount seemed small indeed as compared with the cost of subsidizing industrial enterprises such as those of New Orange and in the South Jersey colonies.

Securing Cooperation

The work, however, was given a powerful impetus at the National Conference of Jewish Charities held in Detroit in May 1902, when the subject of distribution was presented to the Conference for the first time. The sympathy and support which this movement evoked represented a milestone in its progress. The influence and cooperation of the cities represented at the Conference went far in awakening interest in communities throughout the country to the aims of the Society. Eight agencies were established in as many cities. The number of removals almost doubled that of the previous year, the increase being due in part to the reunion of families whose head had previously been sent out. But the greater efficiency of the work was shown by the fact that only one in a hundred of those sent away in 1902 returned to the city—one-sixth as many as the previous year.

In order to secure the active cooperation of other cities, it was necessary to assure them that they would be practically free from any financial responsibilities. Arrangements were therefore made in several cities for the engagement by the Removal Office of an agent to find positions for the people sent. The I.R.O. also made a stipulated allowance to the community for every family sent, and a smaller allowance for an individual without a family.

This system had its advantages. It had been the custom to secure a specific order detailing the precise situation to be filled

and the kind of workman required. It then became necessary to find a man who not only could meet specifications, but who was willing to take the proffered position. Frequently so much time was involved in this process that a cancellation resulted. Under the new arrangement, the employment agent's sole duty was to find situations for the people sent by the I.R.O., and an average of one placement per day was required of him. Local committees, or corresponding members, were organized in Cincinnati, Detroit, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Rochester and St. Louis.

The "Ellis Island Experiment" of 1902 represented another departure in method. Believing that it was easier to induce newcomers to leave for the interior than those who had already settled in New York, the I.R.O. engaged two men, one of them a rabbi, famous on the East Side as a Yiddish orator, to meet immigrants upon arrival at Ellis Island and set forth the advantages of moving on to other points. The experiment lasted for two years and was finally dropped. Immigrants, come for the most part to join relatives and friends in New York City, were not easily dissuaded from their goal.

Conditions in Chicago were of such a nature as to lead the Removal Office to decide that it was unwise to divert any of its removals to that city; indeed, it was felt essential to prevent the growth there of conditions analogous to those in New York. The I.R.O. entered into arrangements with the Chicago community under which a Removal Office was established in Chicago at the expense of the J.A.S. Of all the orders received for removals at this Chicago branch, one-half was to be filled from Chicago and the other half from New York, thereby to that extent relieving both cities. In 1903, all the expenses of this branch were borne by the Removal Office itself. But the efforts of the Chicago committee were insignificant and disappointing, and toward the end of the year it was felt that the number of removals was so small as not to justify the expense.

Records began to be systematically kept. Out of a total of 1,900 cases of removal, in which fifty-nine occupations were represented, it was surprising to notice less than three hundred needle-workers, four hundred unskilled laborers, over a hundred each of carpenters, painters and paperhangers, tinsmiths and clerks. The Roumanian influx was still active, so that more Roumanian than Russian Jews were being removed. A much larger proportion were now being sent to distant Western points, and relatively few to the South Jersey colonies.

The Jewish Colonization Association

David M. Bressler, early in 1903, became General Manager of the I.R.O. Mr. Bressler was a promising young lawyer when in 1900 he had become manager of the Roumanian Relief Committee. With the absorption of this Committee's work by the I.R.O., Bressler now took charge. The necessity for aiding the removal work was presented to the J.C.A., as a result of which it appointed a committee consisting of Judge Isaacs and Nathan Bijur, representing the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Eugene S. Benjamin and Cyrus L. Sulzberger, representing the J.A.S., and Leo N. Levi of the B'nai B'rith. Mr. Sulzberger was the chairman, Mr. Benjamin the secretary. The latter was later succeeded by Mr. Reuben Arkush. In April 1903, this committee started to function as an independent organization. All the funds of the defunct Roumanian Committee were turned into the treasury of the Removal Committee and the J.A.S. placed the sum of $28,000 to its credit. The following year the J.C.A. allowed the Committee $60,000 to cover expenses, and in 1904 granted an appropriation of $50,000. After careful deliberation as to the differentiation of the functions of the Removal Committee and those of the J.A.S. in the matter of removals, it was determined that all persons removed after having resided in the United States for a period of two years were to be sent for account of the J.A.S., while all removals of people who had been in this country less than two years should be chargeable to the Removal Committee. However, this rule was not to prevent the Committee from removing people who had been in this country more than two years, at the expense of the Committee, whenever this was deemed desirable.

At this time, less than one-third of the total number of applicants were being removed. Every effort was made to select only those who showed a reasonable promise of becoming self-dependent.

The difficulties were not merely those relating to the applicants for removal. It was still more a problem of awakening communities outside of the Eastern seaports to their rôle. Mr. Bressler explained the situation:[2]

"The communities in the interior have shown that they recognize the problem to be an important and pressing one, but without reflecting upon their willingness to assist in this solution, I make bold to say that they do not realize how important and how pressing. Above all they do not appreciate how difficult it is. They still regard their efforts in the light of a favor bestowed upon New York, when they should regard the problem of this large

immigration as much theirs as that of New York. It is necessary to emphasize this as a potent truth, because there is danger of forgetting that we have the right and not only the privilege of expecting other communities to assist us. It is not their open denial or refutation of the truth of this argument so much as the thousand and one restrictions placed upon us by them that convinces me that many of them have not yet acquired the true point of view. One community will say, you may send us only newly arrived immigrants; another, you may send us only mechanics; another, only laborers; another, only such as speak English, and so on. Such orders would be helpful, provided every Jew in New York were willing to leave the city. It must be remembered that comparatively few persons apply at the office, and of them only a part are possessed of handicrafts in which there is a general demand. It can, therefore, be seen readily that in order that the work may be promoted in the most effective manner, the bureau must not be regarded as an employment agency whose province it is to cater to the demands of employers. Of course, the Removal Office must always be kept informed of the actual industrial conditions in all parts of the country, in order that an intelligent distribution may be made; but the cooperating communities must be prepared to assist upon a broader basis than mere specific labor demands."

The position that the Committee had held from its inception not to take sides in labor controversies was again emphasized. No persons were to be sent to replace men on strike, or where labor disputes threatened. All out-of-town committees and corresponding members were instructed not to place removed persons in positions vacated by strikers, and to advise the office promptly of actual or imminent labor troubles.

Strengthening the Work

Following the suggestion that members of the Committee devote some time to presenting the philosophy and underlying principles of the I.R.O. to various sections of the country, Mr. Leo N. Levi, and Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, together with Mr. Bressler, made a number of trips to many of the interior communities, evoking much enthusiasm on their part and stirring them to more active and extensive cooperation. As a direct result and in the course of the general development of the work, traveling representatives covered these territories constantly to consolidate the gains of the pioneering work of the directors and to maintain a constant and close touch between the interior cities and headquarters.

Many leaders of the various communities who had been lukewarm to the program or even vigorously attacked it became its warm advocates, and some of them subsequently joined the Board of Directors of the I.R.O.

Rules for Communities

The task of guiding these cooperating communities so that they would be able to achieve a fair measure of success was not light. A sort of vade-mecum, a set of principles to be kept in mind in dealing with these newcomers, was laid down:

1. The arriving immigrant ought never to be regarded as a charity case in the same sense in which any local case of dependency is regarded, for, without prejudice, at the very start the newcomer is neither delinquent nor deficient. By presumption he has not succeeded in New York, but for reasons beyond his control. The change in locale is supposed to remove the main disadvantage under which he has previously labored. His primary motive for leaving New York was to secure employment, and this is in substance what the Removal Office promised him. He should, therefore, be treated as a newcomer who has come to fill a definite place in the life of the community. The period of waiting for his job should not be prolonged, for in that period all the vexations crop out and it becomes a short step to consider him a problem, and when food and shelter during idleness are involved, a "charity" problem. As soon as this happens his satisfactory readjustment with his new environment is retarded. Effective cooperation, which recognizes this danger, will seek to avoid it, not alone for the individual's sake, but in order to protect the community as well. The newcomer must never be made to feel that the question of his future has been taken out of his hands and has been assumed by a kindly disposed community.

2. The kind of position to be secured for the newcomer is an important consideration. It will not do to settle the matter by placing him to work at anything which may be ready at hand. It must be borne in mind that the change in environment is supposed to benefit him. A sudden change of occupation will tend to nullify very largely the good results. This is just the trouble in New York which distribution aims to obviate, namely, that very often good mechanics in highly skilled trades are forced to accept employment in one of the needle trades, either as pressers or operators, because they cannot secure work at their respective trades. To duplicate this state of affairs in the new home would be fatal. The task that the receiving community should set before

itself is to provide the arriving mechanic as far as possible with work which will demand and make use of his fullest ability and skill, and for which he will receive at least a sum approximating his real earning powers. This end may not always be easily reached, and not infrequently it is impossible to attain it for some time after his arrival, but there should be an earnest attempt in that direction. In sending workingmen to the communities, the Industrial Removal Office has always tried to bear in mind the specific needs of the communities, the kind of factories, and the character of labor most in demand. This policy on the part of the Removal Office has done much to smooth the way for the receiving community when the work of placing the man is before it.

3. When the workingman has been placed to the best advantage at a job where he may reasonably be supposed to get along, the work is not necessarily complete. Thus far his physical self has been taken care of. If the interest in him stops at this point, the solution of his problem has not yet been reached. The Jewish immigrant may be strongly individualistic, but paradoxical as it may seem, he is just as strongly gregarious. He craves the society and companionship of his fellow Jews. Where there is already a resident colony of Jews of the same East-European origin, the problem is a simple one and will work itself out. The newcomer will be attracted and absorbed by this element. To visit their synagogues, to join their lodges, to fall in with their mode of life, will be a natural course. In the case of communities, however, in which there are few or no East-European Jews, great care must be exercised to make the stranger feel at home and to win him over gradually to the life of the community. As soon as he is made to feel that he is a man among men and a Jew among Jews, his problem ceases to be a problem. This result is more easily attained in words than in actual fact, and many are the pitfalls which must be avoided if this end is to be reached. The man may be sincerely religious or he may be indifferent to religious matters; in every case his honest convictions should be respected and treated tactfully. Above all, he must not be regarded with a patronizing air. His self-respect must not be injured, and if a number of these men are sent to any one city, it is inadvisable to herd them together and thereby to accentuate their distinctiveness as the Removal Office contingent or by any other descriptive title. In short, each community must bring to the work of handling this problem of distribution, common sense, system and sympathy. They must all go hand in hand.

Some Industrial Benefits

One gain referred to above was stressed by Mr. Sulzberger in his annual report as Chairman of the Removal Committee for the year 1904. This was the possibility of utilizing the skill of an immigrant gained in the practice of his trade in the "old country", which was usually lost through his inability to find work of a similar character in the city. Mr. Sulzberger remarked: "For obvious reasons it has always been the policy of the Society to send away only such persons as had no employment or had employment of an unsatisfactory kind. From one city we get a report that a man whom we had sent to them, whose original occupation was that of ironworker, is now engaged as a manufacturer of iron beds, employing several men and boys; that another, a dyer, but who was engaged in New York as a presser, is now a dyer on a fair scale; that one, a plumber, is now a boss plumber."

"Our records show," Mr. Sulzberger continued, "a large diversity of occupations and not an excessive number engaged in the needle industries, there being but ten per cent of tailors and about ten per cent in the related industries. It is probably a conservative statement that, of the residents of the East Side of the city, more than fifty per cent are connected with these industries, not because they were brought up to these trades, but because the subdivision of labor which is practiced in these industries enables unskilled hands speedily to become skillful. The economic weakness of such a situation is two-fold; in the first place, it makes the competition for work among the people themselves far keener than a normal situation justifies; in the second place, a depression in these industries means distress to a very large portion of the community. Of the 6,000 persons sent away in the past year, 3,500 had trades or occupations (the remainder being women and children); these range alphabetically from baker to wood-carver, and cover, in fact, as wide a range as this indicates. One-third of the whole number (about 1,100) were laborers, over 200 were carpenters and over 200 shoemakers; there were more than 100 each of butchers, blacksmiths, farmers, locksmiths and tinsmiths, more than 50 each of bakers, clerks, metal workers, machinists, painters, paperhangers and tanners, and smaller numbers of cabinetmakers, coopers, electricians, furriers, harnessmakers, masons, printers, trunkmakers, watchmakers, weavers, wood-turners and wood-carvers. Now it is not to be supposed that all of these people were given occupation at the trades to which they were accustomed—it is quite possible that a wood-turner is now working in a packing house in Omaha —but what has been accomplished is this: the 14,000 who have

been permanently removed from New York have practically all been taken out of the needle industries, to which, had they remained in New York, the vast majority would undoubtedly eventually have drifted. The industrial onesidedness which exists among the Jews in the large cities is thus being counteracted, and while, of course, every effort is made to fit a man into the vocation for which he is best qualified, in the event of inability to do this, we can at least prevent his getting into the one calling least desirable hygienically and economically.

"It is significant that almost two-thirds of the total number of persons sent by the Office during the year have been in this country less than two years; a great proportion of these less than six months. Notwithstanding their ignorance of the language and often of the methods employed in American industries, they have shown a remarkable adaptability to their new environment. Better proof of the desirability of the new immigrant in interior cities of the United States cannot well be given.

"Nor may we overlook the influence which this work has upon the communities to which the people are sent. In the smaller cities and away from the seaboard particularly, the Jewish question was purely academic, the Jewish communities in the interior had little or no direct connection with it and knew of its existence only as an abstraction. The subjective value of their cooperation in this work can hardly be overestimated, while the objective value of thousands of Jewish workers engaged in all kinds of labor is by no means unimportant."

The removal work kept pace with the industrial growth of the country. By 1905, 22,500 persons had been removed through the I.R.O.'s direct efforts. Among the removals, moreover, were many heads of families, who, in their new positions, were enabled to send for their families without asking further aid from the Removal Office. Thus it was calculated that the I.R.O. was responsible for the removal of at least 40,000 persons in its first five years of existence.

Effects of the Panic

With the coming of the financial panic in 1907, and the industrial depression which followed close upon it, demand for labor took a sharp decline. In an effort to meet this contingency, the I.R.O. sent representatives to various communities in the Middle West where agencies had not been previously established. It was hoped that the gains accruing from these new contacts would

offset, in some measure, the losses in the older agencies brought on by the depression.

At the Educational Alliance in New York City, an Emigrant Information Bureau, under the direction of Stanley Bero, was created to disseminate knowledge among the people of the East Side concerning the industrial and economic conditions of the various states. This propaganda supplemented in an educational way the practical work being done by the I.R.O. There were lectures, demonstrations, exhibits, distribution of literature, debates and discussions. For a short while Removal Committee funds helped to support this project.

At about the same time, there was in progress an Exhibit of Congestion in New York City, sponsored by public-spirited people for the purpose of directing attention to its evils, and of securing relief through legislative action. The I.R.O. participated in the exhibit, displaying the maps, charts, photographs and other information which had won for it the gold medal at the earlier Jamestown Exhibition.

The result of this many-sided propaganda was that the year 1908 showed a greater range of distribution of removals than any previous year. Removals were sent further from New York than they had ever been sent before, the Southern, Rocky Mountain and Pacific States receiving a decidedly augmented number. It is worthy of notice, also, that nearly one-third of those sent out in this year were engaged in the needle industries, as compared with not quite one-fifth in the previous year. This increase was primarily due to the slackness of work in the important needle trades in New York.

The continuing industrial depression made further inroads in the distribution work. The year 1909 marked the fewest removals since 1902. I.R.O. agencies in many cities were forced to suspend operation. These cities had their own depression battles to fight, and were in neither the mood nor the financial position to take upon themselves added obligations.

To meet this situation General Manager Bressler left for the Pacific Coast, which, predominantly agricultural, had not felt the financial depression in the same degree as other sections. Mr. Bressler succeeded in organizing agencies in Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Spokane and other important centers.

In New York City, a series of illustrated lectures descriptive of life and opportunities in other parts of the country was inaugurated, and was given weekly (in Yiddish), at the headquarters of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society.

Arrangements were made with the Hebrew Educational Society of Brownsville for a similar series of lectures to be held there. Upon the suggestion of Mr. Sulzberger, leaflets on the opportunities in 250 of the leading cities and towns of the United States were printed in Yiddish and distributed.

Elected to the presidency of the United Hebrew Charities, Mr. Sulzberger felt obliged to tender his resignation as Chairman of the Industrial Removal Committee. His resignation was regretfully accepted and Mr. Reuben Arkush, his successor, paid tribute to his many years of devotion to the cause of distribution.

By 1910, the I.R.O. had completed its first decade of work. During this period it had distributed 54,000 persons among more than 1,300 cities throughout the forty-eight states and Canada. But these figures alone do not complete the story. Aside from conducting the practical work of sending forth these workingmen into the interior of the country, and creating new nuclei of settlement, the systematic program of propaganda suggested the idea of distribution to many with whom the I.R.O. did not deal personally but who solved the problem for themselves and turned to other cities without the assistance of the organization or any other institution.

Work of Branches

In spite of the number of branches that eventually were opened, the New York Office continued to bear the brunt of the removal work. This was because, in most instances, the removal work in branch cities consisted of receiving immigrants sent away from New York, rather than their distribution from the city itself. In most instances, the total number of removals carried out by the branch offices approximated one-tenth of the total of removals for any period.

Most of the removal work carried on by the branch offices was limited to adjoining cities and adjacent states. The only branches which had any decided measure of success were those in Boston and Philadelphia. In the case of the latter office, approximately half of the removals were to New Jersey, specifically to Woodbine. But by 1906, the ability of the South Jersey colonies to absorb removals approached its limit. Moreover, the Philadelphia branch operated under a signal handicap at times; orders received by it were frequently filled by the New York office, owing to the greater urgency of the situation at that point.

In connection with the work of the Boston branch, it is interesting to note that the occupations represented by removal applicants were generally of a more "American" and skilled type. In the year 1907, for example, the number of men without trades composed only about one-eighth of the total group; while those engaged in the needle industry did not even approximate five per cent of the total removals. For the most part, the Boston applicants were blacksmiths, cabinetmakers, glass cutters, leather workers, marble setters, etc.

By 1911, the Philadelphia office had discontinued its removal work. Three years later, because of the gradual slowing down of the work of the Boston office, the I.R.O. discontinued its subvention to that branch.

Classification of Removals

The administration of the I.R.O. had early been placed upon a smoothly efficient basis. Applicants were subdivided under three broad divisions: direct or original removals, request removals, and reunion removals. "Direct" or "original removal" applicants were those who left the selection of their destination entirely to the judgment of the I.R.O. officials. The paramount need of these was to secure work at fair wages. "Request removals" comprised those who asked to be sent to some city where they had relatives or friends with whom they had been in correspondence. Their friends had not only suggested the idea of removal to them, but also assured them employment upon arrival. "Reunion removals" were those who asked to be sent to join families or friends who had been previously sent out by the I.R.O.

"Request removals" were sent to their destination only after the community to which the applicant desired to be sent was notified and afforded the opportunity of expressing an opinion in the matter. The I.R.O. was prompted in this course by the wish to ascertain whether the relatives and friends to whom the applicants desired to be sent were themselves economically independent and able to be of some assistance to the newcomer.

An apparently serious objection to the complete effectiveness of the I.R.O.'s work was made by Mr. A. L. Schalit, representative of the Jewish Colonization Association, referred to in previous pages, in his study of the Fund's activities in 1910.[3] He analyzed the division of the immigrants removed; those who asked to be sent to the interior, leaving the choice of their destination to the I.R.O., and those who were sent for by relatives or friends already established in the interior and willing to help the immigrants find work. He argued that the second class was not really a work of removal but merely an act of charity which would have been

accomplished in the course of time by the friends or relatives of the immigrants themselves.

In the opinion of the leaders of the I.R.O., this was a mistaken conception of the Removal Office's work. What it sought to do was, as a rule, to send first the heads of families ahead to their new destination. This gave the immigrants an opportunity of establishing and assimilating themselves in the new environment, without the complication and burden of their families going through the same process. Once they were established, the family was sent for. Many cases were therefore classified as "original removals" and "reunion of families", although in the figures reported these would be represented as "aid by friends or relatives."

Whom Was the Bureau Assisting?

The Industrial Removal Office had become, in practice, a thoroughly humanized labor exchange maintained in New York, with subsidiary branches in Philadelphia and Boston, for points in the interior. In nine cases out of ten, the applicant who came to the Removal Office with a request to be sent to another city was in need of work. The typical individual had been unemployed for a period from two weeks to three months. The reasons were numerous.

Mr. Bressler formulated the broader aspects of the distribution program in an able address before the National Conference of Jewish Charities in May 1910, as follows: "The aim of the Removal Office is to act as an invisible force to direct the stream of Jewish workingmen to our Western country, and it sets before itself the ideal that the time may come that of the Jews who land at Ellis Island in any one year, a majority of them will voluntarily and instantly depart for the interior upon their own initiative and without outside assistance." The problem facing the I.R.O. was "to dovetail, on the one hand, the need of an outlet for the surplus population of the congested sections of the country; and on the other, the need for additional population composed of a thrifty class of laborers on the part of the sparsely settled sections." Many of the Jewish immigrants in New York City were employed in the needle industries and the building trades. The needle industries, especially those which employed men, were seasonal; building operations are carried on only in favorable weather. It thus happens that between seasons, and in the winter months, thousands of shop tailors, operators, cloakmakers and other garment workers, carpenters, painters, paperhangers and

others were thrown out of employment. The fact must also be taken into consideration that many of these garment workers acquired their trades only after their arrival in New York. In their European homes they had been students, ordinary laborers, clerks, bookkeepers, professional men and tradesmen. Either because of their ignorance of English, or lack of funds, or both, they had been forced upon their arrival to go into a shop and learn a new trade. While they gained some measure of proficiency, they were not highly skilled workmen, and their earnings were not always enough to tide them over during the "slack periods". Aside from garment workers and building mechanics, the applicants who came to the Removal Office fell under every category of skilled labor, this skill very often depending upon European standards of perfection, but suffering somewhat when viewed in the light of American methods and standards of efficiency. Here, for instance, work must be done faster, more and different machinery is used, and until the so-called skilled applicant accustomed himself to these American conditions, he was not thoroughly qualified. When the I.R.O. took this man and transplanted him into another and less strenuous environment, it performed a distinct service. Immigrants with no trade at all found still greater difficulty in establishing themselves in New York and in other seaport cities. Among these were business men who had never performed manual labor of any sort, clerks, teachers, and mechanics whose trades were obsolete in this country. The result was that they had to go back to the apprentice period and learn new trades. The problems of these men were solved by sending them to places where the job was seeking the man, where labor was consequently appreciated, where deficiencies due to inexperience were tolerated, and where the interest manifested in the welfare of the workman rendered his progress swifter and surer until he gradually acquired American methods and attained the skill and the assurance of the American workingman.

Its problem, in these cases, as indeed with all of its applicants, was to popularize the interior, to illuminate this "terra incognita" to the Jewish immigrant, and to rob the trip inland of its terrors. The rumor, emanating from some city in the interior, of a successfully removed immigrant, the news circulating in a New York City block, in a tenement house, at a lodge or "chevra" meeting, in the family circle or shop, would result in the entertaining of similar ambitions on the part of others to follow the fortunate friend or relative.

Had there been a continuance of the prosperous conditions which prevailed before 1907, there can be no doubt that removal work would have progressively increased as it had been doing until that year. Its failure to do so was simply a reflection of reduced industrial opportunities. Despite the industrial depression, employment was found in 1911 for all of the workers distributed that year, largely as a result of the establishment of sixty-two additional points of distribution.

National Recognition

That the distribution work had reached a full maturity was clearly demonstrated in 1911, not only to the Jewish community but to the entire American people. Commissioner-General of Immigration Sargent had long been deeply interested in the work of the I.R.O. and had studied its methods. The plans he laid out were incorporated into a newly established "Division of Information" provided for by Congress in the Immigration Act of 1907, and demonstrably inspired by the work of the I.R.O. Its definitive duty was to inform immigrants of the labor opportunities awaiting them throughout the country.

Its director, Terence V. Powderly, formerly Commissioner-General of Immigration, said, in an address to the Daughters of the American Revolution:

> There has been for some years a Jewish Removal Office in the City of New York. It has worked energetically and well for the removal of the Jews from the seaboard cities to all parts of the United States, practically aiding the work in which the Government is engaged. They, more than any other class, recognize the importance of distributing the immigrants where their helpfulness and labor can do the most good.

This Government Bureau, however, became largely a mere informational division. It was viewed with suspicion by the labor unions and never received adequate financial support to enable it to organize other branches of distribution work with any effectiveness. Nevertheless, the actual creation of such a governmental bureau was a tribute to the pioneering of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

The country had at last recovered substantially from the industrial slump which had started in 1907; since 1908, the improvement had been gradual. Now, in 1912, this was directly reflected in the results achieved by the Removal Office, when the largest number of removals was made in any year since 1907. It was

clear that the extent of distribution was directly influenced by the industrial conditions prevailing at a given time. Fifteen thousand persons were represented in applications taken by the I.R.O. during the year. This increase indicated that the removal work had long passed the stage of mere propaganda. It had come to be regarded as a highly important welfare project, constructive in its nature and far-reaching in its results.

Evidently New York was not offering stimulus and opportunity to the immigrant at this time. The majority of the 6,000 removals in 1912 had been in New York at least three years. They should have found it relatively easy to procure employment; the reverse was the case.

Bureau of Information and Advice

Opportunities larger than those presented in the city were being sought even by business men. In response to a demand by many tradesmen seeking the I.R.O.'s advice as to where to invest their money and locate their businesses, a Bureau of Information and Advice was created as an integral part of the work. To give such advice as would do full justice to the applicant, it was necessary to conduct careful investigation as to the man's qualifications for settling in a new locality, the amount of capital he was ready to invest and other related details.

The selection of the community to which the applicant was to be transplanted was systematically determined. Through the cooperation of committees in every community, the I.R.O. was kept fully informed of industrial opportunities, wage scales, hours of work, union conditions, the number of Jewish families in the community, etc. From Chambers of Commerce data was secured as to leading industries, costs of living, demand for labor, etc. Supplementing this information were the statistics compiled by the traveling organizers of the I.R.O. All this data, graphically represented on charts, made it possible to relate the needs of the applicants to the best interests of the communities.

Coincident with a growing vigor in industrial life and with immigration reaching the highest mark on record, the I.R.O. again increased the number of removals in 1913. From an analysis of the distribution work thus far, it was seen that the Central States were absorbing a greater proportion of removals than any other locality, the next in order being the Middle Atlantic, the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States.

Types of Applicants

Classified as to social status, half the removals represented families; about one-fourth were married men whose families remained either in New York or Europe; and one-fourth were unmarried men and women. Not quite half were wage-earners, engaged in 330 different occupations. By far the largest number of the Society's beneficiaries were of Russian nativity.

Only one out of every four applicants was transplanted at this period. Generally responsible for the elimination of applicants was the system of investigation which carefully looked into their fitness for removal to a new environment. Then, too, the number of cooperating agencies or outlets was limited.

According to the analysis, the majority of the I.R.O.'s beneficiaries were at the age of greatest productivity. One-third of those removed were children under six. About one-fourth were between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, and more than one-sixth between twenty-one to twenty-five. Thus, of the number removed approximately two-thirds were thirty-five years old or less, while only about three per cent were forty-five years old and over.

Stresses During the War

In no year since its inauguration did the Removal Office face greater difficulties than in 1914. The war in Europe aggravated the unfavorable industrial conditions which had already obtained since the winter of 1913.

In the face of stagnant European markets and the uncertain future, industry was disrupted by retrenchments and lay-offs. As a result, almost 12,000 applicants sought aid from the I.R.O., while distributing outlets had so shrunk that only 3,500 of these could be cared for. Furthermore, the outbreak of the war severely curtailed the income of the I.R.O. It thus found itself unable even to take full advantage of the few opportunities for service that came its way.

With characteristic vigor, the Removal Office attacked the problem of maintaining the organization's morale. In a series of letters directed to the cooperating agencies, the office discussed practical ways of meeting the situation. Out of these letters grew "Distribution", a monthly bulletin, the first issue of which was published in July 1914. While the bulletin could not create industrial opportunities where none existed, it helped to maintain the spirit and vitality of the movement.

A retrospect at this time, of the decade and a half of the removal work, made it clear that "a wide philanthropy had become a constructive social project, pointing the way to the relief of congestion and indicating the most practical method of absorbing our immigration. . . . The Commissioner-General of Immigration, in his last fiscal report, stated: 'There can be no question but that many of the evils that grow out of our present immigration would be remedied or at least alleviated if the congestion of aliens in our large centers of population could be broken up. Distribution of admitted aliens, therefore, is a thing much to be desired. Moreover, there are certain sections of the United States that need accretions in their population, especially of laboring classes.' It is to these sections of broader spaces and healthier environment that the I.R.O. have sent its beneficiaries and it is there that they have laid the foundations of relatively secure living. This transition has exercised a profound influence on mind and character."

The considerable influence exerted by beneficiaries of the Removal Office on friends and relatives was indicated in the report of that year. Of the 3,500 persons removed during 1914, less than one-fourth constituted original or direct removals. The remainder was composed of those who were sent to join the heads of families previously removed or to join friends or relatives previously removed; or, in this last group, constituting three-fifths of the total number removed, those sent to friends or relatives on request.

Meanwhile, the American Jewish Relief Committee was campaigning for Jewish war relief funds, and the I.R.O. volunteered its assistance. General Manager Bressler tendered his services to the emergency cause, as did many other I.R.O. workers, and the Removal Office came to be headquarters for the Relief Committee, with Cyrus L. Sulzberger as Secretary. Bressler served as its Acting Secretary for two years, in a volunteer capacity.

Industrial and employment conditions improved considerably as the war continued, and factories and mills were once more on the road to normal productivity. Prosperity, more or less elusive since the panic of 1907, seemed fair to become a more permanent visitor. This gratifying improvement would ordinarily have meant much to the many unemployed applicants who continued to seek the aid of the Removal Office. To some degree, this needed aid was available. But until there was an abatement in the great European upheaval, the financial limitations which had been imposed upon the removal work rendered difficult a growth of activity commensurate with the increased opportunities for labor.

Despite these difficulties, and in the face of an eighty per cent

drop in Jewish immigration, the I.R.O. placed 1,800 persons in 1915. The following year, the original or direct removals suffered a further drop, numbering only about three per cent of all those removed, while there was a corresponding drop in the number of wage-earners removed.

In 1916, after sixteen years of brilliant service, Mr. Bressler resigned. In accordance with his suggestion, Mr. Isidor Frank, who had been associated with him in the Office for over twelve years, as chief of the application department, became assistant manager.

The I.R.O. did not formally disband at this time, but maintained a nucleus organization all through the war years. An abortive attempt was made in 1921 to organize key cities in Mexico for the purpose of establishing Jewish immigrants there and to unite separated Jewish families in the United States. At the direction of the I.R.O. Henry P. Goulston made an extended trip through Mexico investigating the possibilities. An outlet for Jewish immigrants other than the United States seemed imperative, as immigration restrictions left this country no longer a haven of refuge.

Committees were formed in several cities, but the attempt to establish a Removable Committee in Mexico was soon abandoned. The immigrants that came were either taking care of themselves or receiving the attention of the locally organized committees.

In 1922, faced with the certainty that Jewish immigrants would never come to America in such numbers as before, the I.R.O. formally dissolved.

Summation

From its inception in 1901 until its liquidation, the Industrial Removal Office sponsored the distribution of 79,000 persons throughout the United States and Canada. This included 2,500 removed by the Philadelphia branch and an equal number by the Boston branch. The immigrants put to work represented 390 different trades and occupations.

On the basis of an immigration of one and one-half million Jews in the United States between 1901 and 1913, and a distribution—direct and indirect—of 100,000, it appears that the I.R.O. removed between six per cent and seven per cent of the total number of arrivals. The hope of the I.R.O. that every family removed would attract others appears to have been substantially realized. Records of the organization contain evidence that thousands of persons of their own initiative joined their relatives or friends in the places to

which they had been sent by the I.R.O. The large increase of Jewish population in hundreds of towns or cities throughout the United States would seem to show that the "magnet" theory was vindicated in the results.

A NEW ATTACK ON CONGESTION

Part 2.—The Galveston Movement

A radical departure from the set policy of the Removal Office was what has come to be called the Galveston Movement, the first deliberate effort in America to divert immigrants from the Eastern seaboard towns to the territory west of the Mississippi by creating a central port of entry in the South.* It was an attempt to steer the current of immigration from those few places where it had come to a head, and where the height of the tide was creating problems of great import to American Jewry.

Schiff Initiates the Enterprise

Early in 1906, Commissioner-General of Immigration Sargent suggested to Jacob H. Schiff the desirability of some systematic plan to relieve the congestion in the Eastern cities by diverting immigration to the Gulf ports. This suggestion, following similar recommendations emanating from Israel Zangwill and the Jewish Territorial Organization, Mr. Schiff considered exhaustively for several months. As he wrote to Israel Zangwill, he realized that "after immigrants have once landed at New York, Boston, Philadelphia or Baltimore, they generally prefer to remain there, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the established removal offices, only a comparatively small number leave these centers."

At the time, there were three organizations engaged in distribution work: the Industrial Removal Office, the National Labor Bureau of New York, and the Division of Information of the Department of Commerce and Labor, the latter two government agencies dealing with all classes of immigrants. On the files of all three organizations were found requisitions for operatives of every conceivable kind, not one-tenth of which were ever filled, merely because the immigrants could not be induced to leave New York.

Mr. Schiff finally decided to give half a million dollars for the

* This subject has been admirably treated by Dr. Cyrus Adler in his Jacob H. Schiff: Life and Letters, Vol. 2, pp. 94-113, which includes the more important of the extensive correspondence of Mr. Schiff.

creation and support of an organization to achieve this purpose of diversion. The step represented the most ambitious enterprise of the philanthropist in this field. It was hoped that this sum would be sufficient to place from 20,000 to 25,000 people in the interior; others, it was thought, would readily follow of their own accord. The city of Galveston was selected as the port of entry because of a regular steamship line that was already running to that city, and all points west of the Mississippi and on the Pacific Coast were readily accessible over railroad lines diverging from Galveston. Galveston, moreover, was the easterly port furthest away from the cities to which immigrants had been flocking.

Heretofore, it had been left more or less to the agents of the steamship companies to direct emigration. In 1907, the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau was inaugurated at Galveston to do what it could to guide the flow of Russian immigration from the Eastern ports to the Gulf ports. A branch office was established at Galveston to receive arriving immigrants, and forward them as expeditiously as possible to destinations arranged for by the New York office.

The Jewish Territorial Organization, formed two years before, for the purpose of establishing an autonomous Jewish state other than Palestine, consented to father the movement in Europe. To this organization, whose headquarters were in England, was entrusted the task of publicising the project, gathering the immigrants, arranging for their routes and passage, etc. The cost of the work was to be met by funds collected in Europe, but it was made plain by Mr. Schiff, who considered impractical the I.T.O.'s (Jewish Territorial Organization) primary purpose, that the organization must not expect further allegiance from immigrants once they had reached the American shore. In this connection Mr. Schiff wrote to Cyrus L. Sulzberger, "The I.T.O. may have all the glory of initiating this immigration in Europe, but when these immigrants once arrive at our shores, they must owe moral allegiance to no one except the United States Government."

Obstacles

The Galveston project was replete with difficulties. Only one steamship company carried passengers to Galveston, and the trip, made only once in three weeks, took from seventeen to twenty-three days. The steamers, moreover, on account of the absence of competition and the longer voyage, were vastly inferior to those going to New York. Argument and persuasion were necessary to induce the immigrant to undertake the far longer trip to Galveston, with the added expense of the railroad fare across Germany to Bremen, where the Galveston ships embarked. The fixed idea in the minds of most immigrants that New York and America were synonymous had to be uprooted by a campaign of enlightenment.

Galveston was part of the great unknown. To the recent newcomer and the Jews of Eastern Europe it was part of the American Hinterland, unattractive, even repelling, a veritable land of mystery. Yiddish might be an unknown tongue, kosher food an unknown thing, and labor opportunities limited. No Yiddish news emanated from it that could influence the East Sider of New York or reach across the sea. The very names of these cities were almost as unknown in New York as in the Pale. As a result, the Russian immigrant regarded the interior with the same feeling that a child might regard a dark room. Daring as the Russian Jew was in his philosophy, he was conservative in action; he could make his wants known in his own language in New York and other eastern cities; and if his wants were dire, his friends and fellow-countrymen were ready to lend a helping hand. The West, on the other hand, loomed chill.

Certain conditions favored the success of the enterprise. In the first place, rapid development of the West and Southwest had created a demand for labor. Secondly, the pioneer German Jews in the states called "Bureau Territory", as well as the Russian-Jewish element there, were willing to cooperate. Again, as Bressler noted, the industrial development in Russia was creating an artisan who, aside from the handicap of a different speech, compared much more favorably with the American artisan than was the case a decade or two before.

The Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau

It was the task of the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau to throw light upon this darkness. The Bureau took charge of the immigrant upon his arrival. It kept informed, through committees created in all of the growing towns of the West and the Southwest, regarding industrial conditions and directed immigrants to such sections where their particular work would find a market, paying their railroad fare from Galveston. The immigrants dealt with represented the pick of the transatlantic Jewish migration. Mr. Morris D. Waldman, assistant manager of the Removal Office, was sent to Galveston as general agent to organize the work. Mr. Bressler was honorary secretary, while Mr. Schiff was chairman of the Bureau. In February 1907, Schiff had an interview with President Roosevelt whom he reported as "particularly happy that

we are making this effort to open a new door to immigration into the United States."

Immigrants sent to Galveston were carefully selected. There was a need for strong laborers and men in trades such as iron-workers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, farm laborers, butchers and tinsmiths. As far as possible the selection was restricted to men of these and related trades. Not too many men belonging to any one trade were sent, nor those over forty years of age, nor "schochtim," Hebrew teachers and others who did not work on the Sabbath.

To prevent the immigrants from settling in Galveston proper, every effort was made to send them to their destinations without loss of time. Distribution was made preferably where there were Russian Jews; west of the Mississippi there were two hundred cities which had contributed to the Russian Relief Fund of the previous year.

The first batch of arriving immigrants—several hundred strong—was welcomed in July, 1907, by the Mayor of Galveston, who shook hands with each one. One of the young men stepped forward and in halting English thanked the Mayor. "In our country, Russia," he said, "this scene could not be possible! The mayors of our cities would take absolutely no notice of us or of any people of our station. You have welcomed us, Mr. Mayor, and we are grateful. There may be a time when the American people will need us, and then we will serve them with our blood!"

The immigrants were distributed according to vocation: butchers to stockyard cities such as Kansas City, Fort Worth and Omaha; carpenters to furniture centers like Grand Rapids and Topeka; tanners to Milwaukee. Local committees clothed and lodged the immigrants. Evening classes were established at once to enable them to learn English. Most of the immigrants remained in Galveston not more than a fortnight, and were soon self-supporting.

The movement began so auspiciously that, in a very short time, several steamship companies began to display interest in conducting regular steamship service to Galveston. But the financial panic of 1907, and the subsequent spread of unemployment, made it impossible to continue the placing of new laborers, and it was found necessary to request suspension of embarkations from Europe.

Official Interference

Two years later, however, the undertaking was renewed, and by 1910, the Galveston office had handled 2,000 immigrants. The majority of these immigrants were heads of families who, after gaining a foothold in their new surroundings, sent for their families. By December 1912, more than 5,000 immigrants had passed through Galveston, at a cost to the Bureau of $150,000 or approximately $30 per person.

Immigration troubles beset the movement during its closing years. The United States Immigration Bureau, at the instance of labor unions, began to exclude immigrants from Galveston on the ground that they had been brought to America in violation of the contract labor law. This law strictly limited the lengths to which an individual or organization could go in inducing immigration through promises of employment, and provided numerous restrictions on the practice of payment of passage money by agencies other than the traveler himself.

Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagel's memorandum on the subject stated, "It is pretty clear that the organizations (i.e. the I.T.O. and related bodies) in Russia and Germany do more than counsel. They appear in some instances to bear some or all of the expense of carrying proposed immigrants to the port from which the transatlantic ship sails, and they also make it a common practice to board those people free of charge for from two or three days to two weeks or until the sailing of the ship. . . . The immigrants are expected to take any jobs found for them, having agreed in writing in advance on the other side to take any kind of work that may be offered them. . . ."

Furthermore, Assistant Secretary Cable and the Immigration Bureau charged that the federal immigration restrictions were not strictly enforced in Galveston, and that immigrants admitted there were likely to become public charges.

On the basis of these charges, many Russian-Jewish immigrants were called before a Special Board of Inquiry during June and July, 1910. Most of the rejections handed down by the Special Board were overruled later by the Secretary of Labor, and the immigrants admitted. But in August a shipload of 100 Russian Jews was refused admittance by the Department, and the case was appealed by the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau.

In a letter to Assistant Secretary Cable, Mr. Schiff came to the defense of the Galveston office. "In no instance," he wrote, "was any attempt made to provide labor for any special industry, or to displace strikers, nor was an emolument sought from employer or employee. In fact, the work of this Bureau duplicates in a measure that of the Industrial Removal Office in New York and other North Atlantic seaports. . . . That this work of ours is legal is proved by the opinion of the courts when South Carolina im-

ported Flemish weavers, as well as by the Act of Congress under which you are now administering the Immigration Department, which authorizes the establishment of just such agencies at the Ellis Island Immigration Station. It is true that the latter were to be maintained at public expense, while toward the expense of the Galveston Bureau neither the Government nor the public is called upon to contribute. . . . Our work can in no wise be described as inducing or illegally assisting immigration, and you, yourself, have admitted the high degree of probability that any immigrant arriving at Galveston would, without the activity of that society, have landed at New York. No funds from this country have, so far as I am aware, been placed at the disposal of the European society, and their work is absolutely philanthropic and disinterested. . . . I believe I do not go too far if I assert that almost none of those who have come through Galveston have become public charges, but, on the contrary, these immigrants have readily established themselves all over the West, Northwest, and Southwest, and have grown into useful additions to the working population of that section."

Legal Steps

To combat further the stand taken by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Mr. Schiff went to the extent of having detailed statements prepared which gave the name of every immigrant who had arrived at Galveston since the movement was inaugurated. This statement gave the employment of each immigrant in order to refute the claim that the new immigrants were likely to become public charges. Cases of exclusion were fought before Attorney General Wickersham on the basis of briefs, written by Judge Nathan Bijur and Mr. Max J. Kohler, on the legal questions involved, and the Attorney General sustained the legality of the Bureau's activities.

The outbreak of the war and the stoppage of immigration cut off all activities of the Bureau. Mr. Schiff looked forward to an ultimate renewal of the work after the war. He planned to include New Orleans and the Pacific Coast in his comprehensive undertaking. But he did not live to see such a renewal, which developments in America and Europe rendered impossible.



Baron de Hirsch Trade School
Enlarged Building—1913

CHAPTER VI

THE BARON DE HIRSCH TRADE SCHOOL

Industrial Education

THE reasons for establishing a special trade school for younger Jewish immigrants had been set forth in general terms by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman. The necessity of some form of apprenticeship or preparation through at least a minimum amount of technical training which would increase the efficiency of the immigrant lad and allow him to start in some trade at a reasonable wage seemed quite evident. Yet the first steps to develop technical education through classes in the Hebrew Technical Institute had met with failure. As a result grave doubts were felt by many of the Trustees as to whether a trade school could be established with any hope of real success. There was no previous experience in this field to guide them. The New York Trade School had been started in this city some ten years before. It served the interests of American mechanics, who had some slight knowledge to begin with, and often practical experience as apprentices in their trades and who came to get more training. The attitude of its founder and director, moreover, was unfriendly to the new element. In a letter to the superintendent of the trade classes, he wrote:[1]

> By bringing a number of Russian Hebrews into the plumbing trade, who know nothing of American customs and who have grown up without even having seen any plumbing, you will, without conferring much benefit on them, tend to undo what has been done towards elevating that trade. . . . He (the Baron) is spending his money with extraordinary liberality for the good of others, but in so radical a measure as removing an alien population to the United States, it would seem wise that his agents should endeavor to inflict as little injury as possible on the country which shelters these unfortunate people.

Plans of Reorganization

The problem was turned over to a special committee, of which Dr. Goldman was the chairman, and the other members Oscar S. Straus and Adolphus S. Solomons. They went into a thoroughgoing investigation of the management of Colonel Bloom and the conditions of the trade classes at the Hebrew Technical Institute. The energy, fairness and mastery of details shown by Dr. Goldman in the many years of his relations with the Fund were in evi-

dence here. The conclusion was to continue the experiment after certain changes had been effected, and to observe the results closely.

Swift action followed. The boarding system was discontinued; the branches of instruction were temporarily reduced to three; methods of ascertaining the fitness of pupils for mechanical occupations were introduced. An Advisory Committee, composed of two Trustees and a number of master mechanics and experts in industrial pursuits, was appointed to prepare plans of reorganization and to control the developments. Alfred R. Wolff, a civil engineer, Milton Schnaier, a master plumber, R. Frank Levy, a boss painter, Julius Jonson, of the Jonson Engineering Company, and Percy Jacobs, a building trade specialist, became active members of this committee. For the first time since the technical classes were begun, the question was definitely asked: "On what principles should a trade school be organized?" It became clear that the Trustees had not clearly defined their aims in the classes they had initiated.

Discussions continued for several months. As an alternative to a trade school, Mr. Straus suggested that it would be advisable to give pupils merely a short training as apprentices to mechanics. The Fund might set aside the sum of $20,000 annually to compensate the latter for the practical instruction in their shops. The trade experts of the Advisory Committee opposed the apprenticeship system for various reasons. They argued that it was futile to teach pupils merely the smatterings of a trade, for the employer would merely exploit the labor of the learner, who would hardly earn more than a few dollars a week. It was also feared that the way would be opened to conflict with the trade unions. Instead of reaching for large numbers, the objective should be to train no more than sixty or seventy young men, if that number could be secured, in four or five trades. Pupils ought to remain in the school at least six months, for a shorter period of training was neither beneficial to the pupil nor creditable to the school.

This was the core of a program that finally grew into a detailed plan. The courses in which instruction was to be given were confined to carpentry, plumbing and gas-fitting, house and sign painting, and machinist. A careful investigation of the suitability of each applicant was to replace perfunctory inquiry. To determine the fitness of the pupil for trade instruction generally, and for the trade he chose, the probationary term of two weeks which had been instituted was to be made a really effective device. The courses of instruction were to be given by day; evening instruction

that may be planned was to be open only to members of the day school. Instead of admitting students at any time as heretofore, admission was to be restricted to the beginning of each of the two terms, in September and March. Each pupil was to attend the evening English school, if his command of English was inadequate. It was deemed advisable to open the school to all Russian and Roumanian Jews not less than 16 years of age, regardless of the length of time they were in this country, though preference was to be given to those here two years or less. Later, this restriction was removed and the school opened to all Jewish youth, native as well as immigrant.

Engagement of Mr. Yalden

Reorganization along these lines, it became clear to all, would be worth trial only under a properly equipped superintendent. A search for such a man was finally ended with the engagement of a young engineer named J. Ernest G. Yalden. Mr. Yalden had come to the United States from England at the age of twelve. He had recently graduated from the engineering school of New York University and after finishing a course at a military academy, had been employed by the Western Electric Company, the Thompson-Houston Electric Company and the Pittsburgh Bridge Company. Interest was centered in him as a result of his knowledge of the English apprenticeship system, which he had advised introducing in a modified form into the United States. His training and experience, combined with a remarkable fertility of ideas and sober judgment, convinced Mr. Goldman and Mr. Wolff that he was just the person to trust with this experimental approach to trade education.

Following his engagement in April 1894, the opening of the School, which was originally scheduled for this month, was postponed to the following September. This was done to enable Mr. Yalden to prepare the outlines of instruction in the courses and for the necessary alteration of the shops prior to the announcement to the immigrant population of the plans of the new school.

With characteristic precision, Mr. Yalden made a distinction between manual training then customarily taught as the equivalent of industrial training, and trade education. "The purpose of manual training", he stated, "is to give instruction in the handling of tools, and general information in regard to trades merely as an educational discipline. . . . The aim of the trade school should be to utilize the whole of the time available to imparting information that will be of practical value alone. General information that

bears but indirectly on the trade taught should be omitted, for the time must be used to the best advantage. How best to prepare the pupil to gain a position, and earn fair wages, on leaving the school is to my mind the first thing to be considered in laying down a course for a trade school."

In refreshing contrast to the lack of method in vogue in the classes under the previous management, he added: "The course will be rigidly adhered to, and I hope soon after taking charge to have the details of the different courses definitely laid down in drawings or on paper, in which condition they can readily be examined, and changes made when necessary. I shall collect in my office models illustrating the steps of each course." This was in germ the basis of the short-course trade school plan, to the development of which he devoted many years.

The New School

The beginnings of the reorganized school were humble indeed, after the striking registration of the previous period. The school opened on September 1, 1894, with an initial enrollment of forty pupils. Of these, twelve were eliminated after the probationary period of two weeks, and twenty-three graduated on February 23, 1895. In the second class, the enrollment increased to sixty-one, of which only thirty-two remained. The new policy of selection was being carefully applied. The second class graduated twenty-three students in June, 1895. Thus, in the first year, forty-six pupils had finished the course; eight carpenters, thirteen machinists, sixteen plumbers and nine sign painters. Each of these received a gift of a kit of tools, which enabled him to start work as soon as a position was found. The wages of these graduates at the commencement of their employment, and what they were earning at later times, was noted. Other school records were systematically kept, for the first time. It was of help, for instance, to know how many of the graduates received jobs, how many were working at the trades they learned at school, and what the cost per capita was. Mr. Yalden was keenly aware of the importance of complete and exact records and his statistical data, systematically kept for many years, proved of value whenever policies were discussed and facts were needed for the enlightenment of the Trustees.

Under the new superintendent, cooperating closely with the Advisory Committee, the Trade School was then giving great promise of success. None of the students was receiving any support; few, once entered, left. In the third class, in 1895, ninety per

cent of the number admitted were graduated, as against about seventy per cent in the previous class. The small attendance, however, was regarded with concern; doubt was expressed, in view of the high per capita cost and the large sums expended on the reorganized school, as to its final success and its continuance. It was still in an experimental stage.

It seemed, however, to many that here was a striking departure from the customary neglect from which immigrants suffered. Articles on the school began to appear in the newspapers and magazines. One writer in *Harpers Weekly*, after giving a detailed description of the plant, courses and the methods used, expressed his frank enthusiasm:

> What a modern miracle—to take these young Russian and Roumanian lads, wholly ignorant of English, foreigners of the most foreign type, fresh from a land of political and social disfranchisement, and to convert them after a few months' training into sturdy practical American mechanics! The photographer's art can show the result of such a course of training in a series of pictures that do not appreciably differ from views that any trade school might disclose. But no power can reproduce those vital, yet unconscious, changes in bearing, appearance, manner, physique, in the eye, the mind, the heart, which developed the rude unkempt immigrant into the type of the true wealth of our country—the educated working man.

The prejudice aroused among the immigrant Jews by the earlier methods of the Trade School was rapidly giving way. Nearly 400 young men applied for admission to the third class, of which only fifty-two were admitted on trial. This class graduated thirty-four students in January, 1896.

The Jewish Colonization Association

Answering an inquiry as to how the Jewish Colonization Association could come to the aid of the Russian Jews in this country, Dr. Goldman, under date of October 6, 1896, described the progress and needs of the Trade School:

> We have established a trade school in which we educate painters, carpenters, plumbers and iron workers. Our aim is to draw as many as possible away from the usual occupation which the Russian Jews are following, viz. the needle work and peddling, and to bring them gradually into the classes of artisans. The school has gradually developed to an extent that has called forth the attention and admiration of other similar schools and the trades unions, and it is undoubtedly doing some of the best work that has been undertaken by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. The pupils are enabled to take positions as assistants in their respective trades, earning in the beginning from four to five dollars per week, but very rapidly rising to six, eight, ten and even as high as eighteen and twenty dollars a week. Of those who have attended the school since its present organization, eight-six per cent adhered to their trades, as we have been able

to ascertain by careful investigation. Unfortunately it is rather an expensive undertaking; the trade school costs us at present about fifteen hundred dollars per month and educates but sixty pupils at one time, or about one hundred and twenty per annum. We feel that if the means were at our command to enlarge this institution, there is no reason why we should not gradually have classes of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty and as two classes are graduated per year, we could in that event educate from two hundred to three hundred artisans per annum. As many Jews in Russia are artisans we know of no reason why with an increase of means we should not be able to educate a class of Russian artisans in this country.

As a result of this report, the J.C.A. added $8,000 to the budget of the School to augment the student body. The prospect of obtaining additional funds for the extension of the Trade School gave strength to the Trustees who favored its continuance despite its modest enrollment. Chief among these was Dr. Goldman. Upon the assurance of a subsidy, he addressed himself to a thorough consideration of the needs of the School. These presented complex problems. In the following year, the lease with the Hebrew Technical Institute would expire. New arrangements would be expensive—either another building to be erected, or leased. In either case, additional machinery and other equipment would have to be installed. Dr. Goldman pointed out the inability of the Fund to make these changes without the assurance of a continuance of the J.C.A. grant for at least ten years. His representations were successful to the extent that the directors agreed to grant this subsidy for a period of five years, and promised a renewal of the amount for another five years if everything went well.

The question of new quarters remained to be settled. Dr. Goldman turned to Oscar Straus, in view of an intimation from him that the Baroness was following with interest the work of the Fund and might be willing to aid in the solution of the Trade School problem. He reviewed the achievements of the School since reorganization, the increase of graduating pupils from barely twenty in the first class to fifty-three in the fifth, the better class of students now enrolling, and the encomiums the school received from trade union leaders and particularly from the Russian-Jewish community, formerly inimical to the School and its strongest critics.

A New Building

As a result of these representations, Baroness de Hirsch donated in March 1897, the sum of $150,000 in memory of her husband, to meet the expenses of a new building for the Trade School. By the following June a suitable site was found at East 64th Street, between Second and Third Avenues, and five lots were purchased. With the aid of the Advisory Committee, plans were made for the building which was finally opened in January 1899.

The new building was so modern that it attracted much attention, as this quotation from an article indicates:

The Baron de Hirsch Trade School is a handsome structure of cream colored brick, with a lime-stone front, 110 feet long, some 50 feet deep, and four stories high. It is lighted by electricity, generated by two dynamos in a power-house behind the school building.

Five trades are taught in the Baron de Hirsch School—carpentry, house-painting, sign painting, plumbing, and the machinist's calling. Each of these, except painting, has a floor set apart for it. House and sign painting is taught in one large room on the top floor. The class-rooms are situated in the rear part of the building, where a southern exposure insures an abundance of light during the day. They are each about 100 feet long by about 25 or 30 feet wide, and occupy almost half the available space within the school.

The large class-room on the first floor will be used for lectures on matters pertaining to the courses of study, which will be illustrated by stereopticon views. The lecture-room will seat 400.

The rear room on the second floor will be devoted to carpentering. It is filled from end to end with "model" carpenter's benches. These are built to effect a great saving of space, and each pupil's tools can be stowed away in a locker under his bench. Racks along the walls of the room contain additional tools, especially those of a finer make, more costly, more complicated, or less often used than those in the individual lockers.

Plumbing will be taught in the large rear class-room on the third floor, equipped with lockers like the others. Here there are accommodations for sixty-six students. This room is divided by a high compartment, extending almost its whole length, which supports a wide shelf on each side. These shelves will contain bathtubs, with the accompanying bathroom plumbing placed so as to be accessible to the students, that they may conveniently study the arrangement of the pipes and make alterations or repairs. The floor space below the shelves will be fitted with models of kitchen plumbing, which may be altered or repaired in the same way. The models will illustrate the two most important matters in plumbing, namely, the arrangement of the pipes in the kitchen and the bathroom. The little furnace for the purification of solder in the plumbing-room will be greatly appreciated by the students. The eastern side of the house and sign painting rooms on the top floor has the drying rack and the folding-easels of the sign painters.

In the western end space was limited, but it was necessary to give the students as much surface as possible on which to practice their house painting. The problem was solved by filling this end of the room with a series of booths in two rows, back to back, for almost half the length of the room. One long, high wooden screen produced a series of compartments about six feet square, closed on three sides. Each student in the house painting class has one of these compartments to himself, and he practices house painting on its three walls. The upper part of the side walls is fitted up as a window, and on this space he can practice sash painting. Other spaces are provided for practicing frescoing, wall painting and door painting.

A smaller classroom on the top floor will be the meeting-place for a class in mechanical and architectural drawing.[2]

In 1897, the School was inspected by a representative of the Slater Fund, which had just started a trade school for negro youths at Hampton, Va., and by the president of the Williamson Trade School of Williamson, Pa. Recognition came from other quarters. The same year, Professor Snow, Dean of the School of Engineering of New York University, wrote to Mr. Yalden after a visit to the Trade School:

I have just given our new instructor, Mr. Collins P. Bliss, a letter of introduction to you. I hope that you will be willing to show him a little concerning your course in machine drawing, which we would like to introduce up here, if we can do so. I have thought considerable of what I saw the other afternoon, and with increasing pleasure. You are certainly doing very good work for the city.

Learning by Doing

Not merely the structure and its equipment, but the new methods employed in the Trade School, began to exert considerable influence upon industrial education throughout the country. The "learning by doing" principle inaugurated by Mr. Yalden attracted widespread interest.

The novel principle was applied in thoroughgoing, practical fashion in all of the School classes. Each shop had at its head an instructor (foreman) who came from a shop, and consequently treated his pupils as he treated his workmen, with the matter-of-factness of the American foreman. The idea was to accustom the young pupil to the atmosphere of the shop.

A plumber's pupil, for instance, was taught the use of his materials (file, soldering iron, lead and alloys) in a full-size model of a basement and room above it, which was set up in the plumber's shop. In this model lay-out, the pupil actually set up basement steam boilers, bathroom fixtures, toilets, kitchen fixtures, etc. with all the necessary piping, cocks, faucets and other apparatus.

The machinist began his course at bench work, followed by instruction in the operation of the various machine tools, as the lathe, drill, shaper, planer and milling machine. Later on finished work was done such as shop appliances and small machine tools.

The classwork in other trades was handled in similar fashion. Demonstrations, accompanied by explanations given in the shops, and judiciously conducted lessons in drawing and geometry, enabled the pupils to read and follow blue prints.

The goal of the School was to prepare, commensurate with accommodations, the greatest possible number of young people to perform properly the work of helper in any given trade, so that they could start in a workshop, immediately upon graduation, and be assured of their own competence and of a reasonable wage. To further this goal, those trades were taught which were most in demand, which paid the best, and which were easiest to teach.

All the trades chosen were connected with the building industry, except those of sign painter and machinist. Their selection may be easily understood in the light of the growing development of Greater New York, and the great number of houses that were being erected every year in the suburbs of the city.

The age limit of admission for pupils was 16 years. There was no maximum, but the average age was 19 years. All applicants had to be able to read and write English, to know arithmetic, have good health and to show a general aptitude for the trade they wanted to learn. All were admitted on a 14-day trial basis.

Here are some of the typical applicants of the early period of the School:

James Spiro.—Age 25 years, born in Russia, 5 years in the U. S., learned English at evening school. Worked in cloak factory, work uncertain; became peddler during the slack season. Wants to become a machinist. Has $200 saved, and a sister, who, if necessary, will help him.

Abraham Tormak.—From Russia, age 28 years, janitor ($5.00 a month and lodging). Wants to be a plumber. His wife who is a vest-maker will support him.

Peter Markus.—From Russia, 17 years old, two years in America. Learned English at night school. Worked as vest-maker, earned $6.00 per week. His brother will support him during his apprenticeship as machinist.

Edwin Cohen.—17 years of age, born in the U. S., of Galician parents. Worked as office boy in factory, earned $6.00 a week, wants to become an electrician. His father, a butcher, will support him.

Theodore Mars.—Born in New York City, of German parents, age 19 years, earned $4.50 a week as driver's assistant. His father will support him.

An observant foreign visitor to the Trade School wrote:

It is with full knowledge of what they are undertaking, with their eyes well open, that young men apply for admission to the Trade School. Add to this, the keen intelligence, the facility of adaptation, and the insatiable desire for knowledge that characterize the young Jew in general, made keener still by the American atmosphere, and you must agree with me that these young men must derive the very maximum of advantage from the 5½ months spent at the school. Most of them, if not all, show remarkable perseverance and zeal and often work in the shops or in their classes until midnight either to finish some piece of work or to understand and explain at the proper time this or that drawing or problem or blueprint. Frequent severe tests help to keep the pupil's efforts at high pressure.

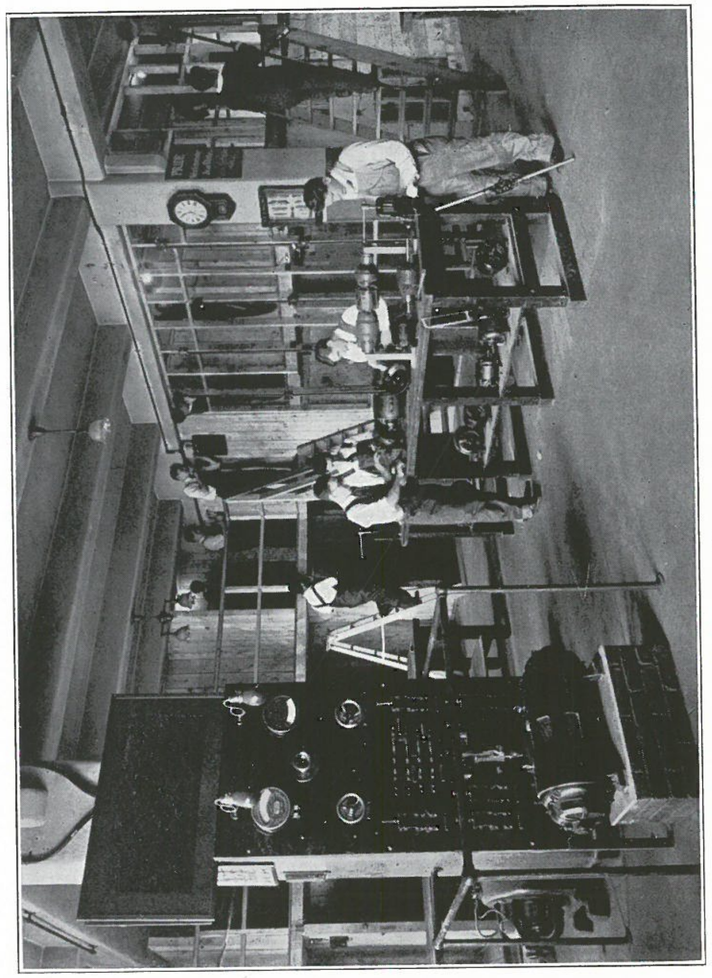
Evening Courses

Graduates of the School working at their trades were asking, at this time, for further instruction in elementary mathematics and science so that they might be better prepared to study effectively on their own account. To utilize the new building to its fullest extent, as well as to extend the benefits of industrial education to graduates and others, evening classes were established in arithmetic, algebra and geometry, mechanical drawing and applied mechanics. A course was outlined which was to take two years to complete, and $600 was appropriated for the project. Two such classes were organized in the winter of 1899, with twenty-two pupils enrolling. Only six completed the course. The experiment was ended, for the present; but evening school lectures were begun and continued as a regular feature for many years under the supervision of Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, Superintendent of the Department of Evening Lectures in the Board of Education.

Again the question of evening courses came up in 1904, when the Committee presented the idea of introducing evening classes in trades for adults of twenty-five years and over, and for young men of sixteen to twenty-five years of age. Yalden, in a sober and forthright statement, pointed out that the demand for such classes did not warrant their introduction. Men of twenty-five years of age and over were rarely adapted to learn as rapidly as younger men, while employers prefer young men as helpers; it would be difficult for adults to do the work of helpers and live on helpers' wages. In addition, it would cost more to increase the yearly number of graduates by means of evening classes than it would be to accomplish the same result by increasing the capacity of the day school. This disposed of the idea definitely.

The Needle Trade Question

Should the Needle Trades be taught? This thorny question was broached by Dr. Milton Reizenstein, acting in the capacity of inspector of the Fund's activities in April 1900; his report aroused acrimonious debate when he suggested as a method of increasing enrollment the instituting of classes for instruction in clothing cutting and drafting. Dr. Reizenstein stressed the fact that Jews took to clothing manufacturing more than to carpentry and machinist work, that wages were good, work was steady, and the trade organized. Mr. Wolff, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee, observed that "the special aim of the school was to direct its pupils away from the natural channel of the clothing and garment trade—in which immigrant Jews swarmed—to take them



Baron de Hirsch Trade School
Electrical Maintenance Dept.

into the channel of the mechanical trades." This was the position the Trustees had held from the very beginning. Mechanical training, to them, spelled association with American mechanics, Americanization, possible removal from the cities to the small towns in the country, as well as the opportunity for self-advancement in honorable callings in which technical training was all-important. Moreover, it may be remarked that the clothing industry had not progressed to a point where technical training seemed necessary and without which young men could not enter the industry. It was still, for the most part, an unskilled trade.

The discussion had the great advantage at least of clarifying and restating firmly the position of the Trustees on this question. Furthermore, the Advisory Committee pointed out that the School was designed to have not more than eighty pupils each term, and that the enrollment of sixty at that time was satisfactory. To another suggestion that they clothe, feed and house the pupils, they showed that the results of this system had been disastrous.

A New Trade

Young men who wanted to become carpenters became fewer at this period. The same condition existed in the New York Trade School, the only other school in the city of similar character, where out of some 200 pupils in the day class, only seven were carpenters. On the other hand, there was a great demand for electrical work. This represented one of the cycles of rise and decline in the demand of trades, which the Trade School and the Trustees of the Fund watched carefully with a view to possibilities of introducing new trades. Great general interest was shown in the electrical developments of the day. It was an electrical age, the public believed. Of the nineteen who took the electrical course, all were graduated. A year later, a pattern branch of the carpentry school was established, and a fresco branch added to the painting division.

Reconstruction

Applications for admittance to the Trade School kept pouring in each year in increasing numbers as the value of the School's work became more widely known and the variety of courses was changed to fit the current demand for trades. By 1905, over 100 applicants had to be denied admission to the twentieth class because of lack of room. In the previous year 196 pupils had been graduated, and the limit of capacity had been reached in the building. The problem of enlargement was again placed before the J.C.A., this time

by Mr. Schiff, who thought that the School should accommodate 500 pupils a year. The J.C.A. agreed to contribute the expenses of construction ($18,000) and a supplementary annual maintenance ($5,500), voting an appropriation of $10,200 for 1905, plus $5,500 for the accommodation of seventy additional pupils. The work of alteration, which increased the accommodations in some of the trades, particularly in the electrical and plumbing departments, was completed by September, 1905. The plumbing shop could now train forty-five instead of twenty-five pupils; the electrical shop, fifty instead of thirty pupils, and the old assembly hall was changed to a carpentry shop to take care of twenty-four pupils.

With all shops working at capacity, 150 students were enrolled the following year. More than 700 applications had been made to the School, and placed on the waiting list for the coming term. In the second half of the year, the enrollment was 161, and the J.C.A. wrote to the Fund congratulating it upon the successful management of the Trade School. There was some question as to the retention of the carpentry and paint shops, but Yalden pointed out that enrollment in these divisions was relatively on the increase and was making a better showing than the New York Trade School.

The gift of tool kits to graduates was costing the Fund $2,500 a year. It was proposed to change the policy and sell the kits to the graduates. Yalden, however, submitted that the graduates must have tools in order to go to work, that the pupils could not afford to buy their own tools at the time of graduation and that many students were encouraged to remain to the end of the course in the expectation of receiving the set of tools. It was finally decided to revise the moribund Alumni Association and have it establish a tool fund to which each member would be asked to contribute an amount equivalent to the cost of tools (about ten dollars), to be turned over to the Fund for purchase of kits for future graduates.

When the program of vocational training was instituted in the system of the New York City public schools in 1906, representatives of the Board of Education examined the workings of the Trade School. In this connection, with the opening of the first school—The Boys' Vocational School—Mr. Yalden was invited to address the Board of Education, and to give his ideas and experiences on the subject. He advocated the establishment of short-course primary industrial schools by the State.

It was in 1907 that Mr. Robert H. Greene, later to become head of the School, joined the Trade School as Assistant Superintendent and instructor in Mechanical Drawing. Mr. Greene came from the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co. and was a graduate of the Carnegie Technical Schools.

Still the School kept growing, healthily and naturally. By 1909 3,480 pupils had been admitted on trial and 2,205 had been graduated. An investigation by Mr. Yalden showed that the average wages of some two hundred pupils before entrance to the School was $5.39 per week. They were engaged in the various unskilled occupations that do not require any previous training or preparation. After receiving a five and a half months' course as a special preparation to enter trades, they earned immediately after graduation an average of $7.54 per week, or a gain of $2.15 due to their ability to enter a skilled trade. "There has been such a demand for skilled helpers that graduates find little difficulty in obtaining employment at wages ranging from $5 to $15 a week, and in about two years' time many graduates are able to earn journeymen's wages."[3]

The size of the classes had increased three-fold over the past decade; the School was now graduating 280 pupils, whereas it was only intended to graduate 260 pupils a year. It seemed reasonable to assume that the growth would continue in the same proportion. To take care of this future expansion, Yalden recommended offering a larger number of trades and suggested an increase in the size of the plant or a new building to accommodate 360 graduates instead of 280. As a result, the J.C.A. was appealed to for $250,000 to enlarge the building.

It was pointed out that since the Trade School was first organized, the Jewish population of New York had more than tripled, almost entirely through immigration, and that even since 1904, when the present structure had been rebuilt, the Jewish population had grown to a great extent. The J.C.A. consented to give $125,000 and to increase the maintenance to $25,000 per annum. The additional money needed to complete the building was taken out of the capital of the Fund.

Before taking the final step of enlarging the Trade School, the Trustees invited Drs. Maxwell and Straubenmuller, officials of the Board of Education, to explain the plans of the city with regard to vocational education. Dr. Maxwell stated that the city had decided to provide first for the army of children between twelve and fourteen years of age, who were not dealt with by the Baron de Hirsch Trade School and other vocational institutions. It could not consider the extension of this work along lines similar to the Trade School for several years, since financial demands would absorb all the means at the Board's disposal. The Trustees were pleased to

learn that the Trade School did not conflict with the present activities of the Board of Education along industrial lines. In reply to Mr. Schiff's question as to whether the city could later incorporate the Trade School in its educational system, Dr. Maxwell replied that he thought this would depend a great deal upon the success of the experiment with the vocational schools.

That the Baron de Hirsch Trade School had developed an exclusive field of work was pointed out by Mr. Yalden, who observed that Baron de Hirsch students could not and would not enter the vocational schools run by the city because of the length of the course (two years), the higher academic requirements, and the lower age of the average vocational school student.

Toward the end of 1910, after debating whether the School should be located further uptown, it was finally agreed to improve and remodel the present plant and to acquire the property adjoining it. Two lots adjacent to the building on the east were purchased. On this property a six-story loft building with a basement was erected at a cost of about $110,000. The additional cost of $30,000 for equipping and $15,000 for improving and making necessary changes to the present building, brought the total cost to about $270,000. To this the J.C.A. contributed $135,000, leaving the balance of about $135,000 to be taken from the capital account of the Fund.

Introduction of New Trades

With three new departments—operating engineering, printing and sheet-metal work—the new structure opened its doors on December 6, 1911. A public reception and the first exhibition of the work of the School was held on Lincoln's Birthday the following year. The first class in the new building—the thirty-sixth in the history of the School—showed an increased enrollment of twenty-five over the average for fourteen previous classes. Later that year, the J.C.A. wrote, expressing great pleasure with the work of the School, especially the new trade, printing (the catalogue of the School having been printed by the students themselves).

Because employers were demanding experienced men in the wood-working division of the building trades, this department was discontinued.

Effects of the War

With the outbreak of the War, there was a pronounced decrease in the number of pupils enrolled. The reason for the decline in applications was due to the unprecedented demand for young and unskilled workers in all kinds of employment; it was largely from the unskilled group that the Trade School gained its pupils. In 1917, the number of applicants for admission was approximately half of what was required for a full enrollment, enlistment in the army and navy also reducing the number of potential students. Other schools of a similar type were in the same predicament. Advertising was resorted to, in order to attract young men. But wages were too attractive in every line of industry. Immigration had decreased considerably. Yalden felt that it was both patriotic and expedient to admit non-Jewish applicants in the School, thus supply the great demand for skilled mechanics at that time, and fill many empty benches without increasing cost of operation.

The question was debated at length. It was decided that to change permanently the character of the Trade School and make it undenominational would be contrary to the Deed of Trust and provisions of the charter. However, it was pointed out that admitting non-Jews would be rendering the country a service during the War. On motion of Mr. Schiff, it was finally unanimously decided to accept non-Jewish applicants, preference to be given to Jewish boys.

Supplementing these steps in combating the decreased registration, a course in auto-mechanics was later introduced. A great many who had applied for admission to the machinist and electrical work departments had failed to enter because the divisions had been filled at a very early date. Mr. Yalden felt that in normal times the auto-mechanics trade was a good one and that there would be an increasing demand in the future for skilled men in this field. This course, thus, was the first one introduced to substitute for courses abandoned later, such as painting, wood-working and carpentry, which had failed to attract a sufficient number of pupils commensurate with the cost of maintenance and the space allotted to them.

As an indication of the high esteem in which the School was held by other authorities in the vocational field, Mr. Yalden was requested by the Board of Examiners of the New York City Department of Education to prepare a written and practical test for the position of sign painting instructor in the public vocational schools.

The Trustees were looking into the future. Judge Bijur thought it would be advisable to open a department in which young men could be trained along the mechanical lines of aviation, so that when they came to the aviation camps, they would be equipped with a knowledge of the mechanism of airships. Mr. Benjamin suggested that, in view of the increasing demand for training

young women in mechanical work, it might be advisable to open courses for girls. Both of these ideas, upon investigation, were discarded as impractical.

The War was on. What could the Fund, through the Trade School, do to help? Mr. Benjamin was requested to communicate with the Federal authorities to ascertain how the School could make itself useful along trade lines. Early in 1918, together with Mr. Yalden, he attended a conference held in Washington by the Federal Board for Vocational Training, on which were represented the vocational educational and trade schools and colleges throughout the nation. The object of the conference was to discuss the question of how best to utilize the trade institutions for the training of soldiers in the mechanical trades. The action of the Fund's President in offering the use of the School to the Federal Board was approved. On April 30th, Mr. Benjamin reported that the Government accepted the offer but stipulated that in addition to instruction, the School was to undertake the feeding and housing of the soldiers in dormitories. As the plant had no facilities for dormitories, it was found impossible to meet with this requirement.

At least a hundred graduates of the Trade School were known to have taken some part in the War. One former student was killed in action in France. Herman Bernstein, a graduate of the 43rd machinist class, was in charge of the tool-making and machine shop of the Ordnance Company attached to the First Corps Artillery Park, and later the Third Corps. He received a highly commendatory letter from his commanding officer:

> Sergeant of Ordnance 1st Class Herman Bernstein has been a member of this organization since March 1917. He has been in the American Expeditionary Forces since May 21, 1918, and has participated in four major offensives, namely: Champagne, Oise-Aisne, Aisne-Marne, Meuse-Argonne. . . . Sergeant Bernstein's work has been of the very highest type . . . and I feel free in recommending him as an expert in his line. . . .

During the war years, attendance at the School continued to drop. In the period from August 1914 to March 1916, the School had graduated the greatest number of pupils per class since its establishment—an average of 178 per class. But since August 1916, there was a marked falling-off in the average number of graduates, the average number for the next two years being 124, a decrease of about thirty per cent. Yalden felt that the School must have at least 1,000 applicants for admission in order to fill all the departments sufficiently to graduate 178 pupils. During 1917 and 1918, the average number of applications had fallen to less than half.

Though the total attendance in 1918 was 133, in several departments, such as painting, printing, operating engineering, sheet-metal work and wood-work, the registration was quite low, ranging from two to six students respectively. It was decided that no class was to open in the first term in 1919 unless there was an attendance of at least ten pupils. The courses in painting, sheet-metal work and wood-work were soon discontinued. Yalden was asked to submit a plan of flexible courses, to meet the changing demands.

Resuming a pre-war aspect, the School opened its 48th class—the first after the close of the War—in February, 1919 with 165 pupils. There were now seven departments: electrical, machinist, auto-mechanics, plumbing, printing, sheet-metal and operating engineering. In the last two classes, the registration was fifteen and eight respectively, while in printing only eight were enrolled.

Again the question of the admission of non-Jews came up in 1920, when it was seen that nearly one-fifth of the total attendance were non-Jews. It was found advisable to continue this policy for the time being. The following year, Yalden based his request for a continuance of the practice on the ground that it was a good thing for the Jewish youths who were to enter the ranks of mechanics. "Skilled mechanics," he said, "whose ranks our Jewish boys are destined to join, will view this practice with approval, for it will then be evident that the benefit to be derived from attendance at the School is not reserved alone for Jewish boys." By 1931, the 72nd class had forty-three non-Jews out of a total enrollment of 328—about thirteen per cent. Since 1918, when non-Jewish pupils began to be admitted, the average proportion has been about the same.

Reorganization of Courses

Under the belief that the Trade School plant was not being sufficiently utilized, and because of the decided increase in the number of applicants, the President of the Fund suggested in 1921 that a thorough investigation be made with the aim of adding some useful trades. As a result, at the commencement of the following term—the 53rd class—the sign painting shop was reorganized. This department had been one of the first established in the School; 46 classes had completed the course, of which 416 graduates were sign painters and 137 house painters. In 1918, following the death of its instructor, and due to the depleted enrollment, the course had been discontinued. With the revival of the sign painting course, the method of instruction was brought

up-to-date, with the emphasis placed on show-card work and advertising signs. For some time, the same instruction had been given to pupils who specialized in show-card writing as those who had followed sign-painting. About two years later, under a new system, a distinct course for show-card pupils was worked out, and that course was listed as a separate trade.

General unemployment in 1921 increased the enrollment of the School about twenty-seven per cent above that of the previous year. The J.C.A. at this time informed the Fund that while it had appropriated $30,000 toward the maintenance of the School for 1921, the appropriation for 1922 would be reduced to half by reason of the financial situation and the exacting needs of Eastern Europe; and it soon ceased entirely.

After thirty-two years of service, Mr. Yalden, in July 1922 asked to be relieved from active duty because of ill-health. It was decided to relieve him immediately, but in view of his great services to the School, to appoint him as advisor. Mr. Greene, who had been assistant superintendent for fifteen years, was appointed superintendent.

Only three, out of a total of five hundred who had applied for entrance to the school in February, 1923, had asked for the sheet-metal class. In the last five years, a total of seventy-seven sheet-metal workers—or an average of only about fifteen a year—had graduated. The resignation of the instructor, added to the lack of pupils at this time, caused the discontinuance of the course.

Certain changes were noted at this time in the character of the pupils. Fewer of them were foreign-born. In 1912, about three-fifths had been of foreign birth. They had been in the United States, before coming to the School, a little over six years. But, in 1923, the percentage of foreign-born had dropped to a little over one-third, while their average stay in the country had increased to eleven years. The lowest point was reached in the sixty-second class, in July 1926, when only one-sixth of the pupils were foreigners. The Trade School, in other words, was attracting more of the native element than ever.

The gradual redistribution of the immigrant Jewish population was also reflected in the changing residence of the pupils. When the first class was graduated, in 1895, more than three-fourths of the students lived below 14th Street. Over eighty per cent lived in Manhattan. It was found, with the twenty-fifth graduation class, in 1907, that only two-fifths lived below 14th Street, and the percentage of those living in Manhattan had become reduced to three-fourths. This removal to outlying sections continued apace, so that

thirteen years later, in 1920, only one-fifth of the class resided below 14th Street—a drop of fifty per cent in a quarter of a century—and only one-half of them in entire Manhattan. Mr. Charles L. Bernheimer, Chairman of the Trade School Committee, called attention to a number of recent graduates, who, in spite of their daily long distance of travel, had splendid attendance records.

An interesting sidelight on the stability of the Trade School was now observed when it was found that, with the end of the fifty-fifth class, three School employees, Samuel J. Thackabery, Michael Keegan and Philip Rubenstein—were completing twenty-five years of service.

Early in 1925, the Trade School Committee entered into an agreement with the Deaf Mute Institute of New York by which the School was to admit to the sign painting and printing classes two deaf mutes each term, providing this would not interfere with the progress of the normal pupils. Although deaf mutes were receiving training at the Institute, it was thought that they might profit from the more complete equipment of the School and by associating with young men of normal hearing before they attempted to compete with conditions in the trade. The plan was put into operation with the term beginning February 1925, when two pupils in sign painting from the Institute entered the department.

Health Supervision

As far back as 1916, a pupil in the machinist department had died suddenly in the school building. It was an indication of the type of accident that could have been avoided had stricter examinations been in effect at the time. In February, 1926, when the sixty-second class entered, arrangements were made with the Committee of Health Service Among Jews, of which Dr. Jacob A. Goldberg was director, to inaugurate the work of determining the physical fitness for trade work of all applicants.

By 1932, the Trade School physicians, under the supervision of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, had examined some two thousand young men and records of their findings were carefully tabulated. In a number of cases of heart, lung or spinal troubles, the examinations and advice were very timely, while hundreds of minor ailments were corrected. One young man, who was anxious to become a plumber, was found to have a spinal curvature. Had he attempted such a heavy trade, he would have been in great danger, it was the opinion of the school physicians, of becoming deformed and possibly developing tuberculosis of the

spine. The young man was advised to go to a hospital for treatment, and was turned over to the State Department of Rehabilitation for assistance in securing proper employment. The dental work was cared for by the Dental Health Service, Inc. who send dental hygienists to the School.

Did the Trade School need wider publicity? The matter was thoroughly discussed by the Trustees. Mr. Schiff thought it did not. In his opinion, the School was very well known and instead of advertising to stimulate the demand for certain courses whose popularity had diminished, new ones should be substituted. Mr. Bernheimer, however, believed that the School should receive some publicity beyond general advertising in newspapers by write-ups in the better-class periodicals. The School's printing department had adopted the procedure of reprinting articles that would prove of interest to certain groups of readers. These reprints were issued in booklet form and in addition to the article, the booklet gave a brief description of the School and its aims. For the first issue, a sketch of Baron de Hirsch was chosen; this was followed by "William Bradford, Printer". Copies of the second reprint found their way into the hands of the author, Dr. James Melvin Lee, then head of the Department of Journalism of New York University and Chairman of the William Bradford Memorial Committee. Early in 1927, the printing department ran off 1,000 copies which were mailed to editors and publishers throughout the East. Requests for additional copies of this booklet came from as far West as Nebraska, and from Canada and Japan.

Rather exceptional was the year 1926, in point of numbers, for 326 pupils completed their course of instruction. Only three times in the history of the School had the total graduates for the year exceeded this number. Only fifteen had left before graduation to work at the trade they were learning.

Social Service

Affiliations with welfare organizations continued to grow and the School was called upon to give advice to many special cases. In the spring of 1930, the State Board of Rehabilitation referred a young man to the School whose left hand and arm were withered. He had some talent for drawing and lettering, and he was permitted to spend the early summer months in practice work in the School's shop. In the fall, he was regularly enrolled and became one of the best show-card men the School has ever had. Another young man with a mangled right arm was sent by the same organization; he was also enrolled in the show-card class.

Recently the School accepted an invitation to become a member of the Section on Employment and Guidance of the Welfare Council of the City of New York. In the past few years, the School has had calls from officials of the city's Crime Prevention Bureau concerning boys who needed not only trade training, but the advice and direction of such men as make up its teaching staff. A number of these boys have been admitted to the Trade School. Occasionally, a boy has been too young to enter, but he has promised to remain in public school if the Trade School will take him when of proper age.

A Survey

Over thirty years had gone by since the Trade School had been reorganized. Was it keeping abreast of the industrial changes and developments of our time? This question was posed by Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, an active member of the committee on the Trade School. He suggested that a survey was needed of the workings of the School by some competent authority, similar to one that had been made of the Agricultural School at Woodbine. This inquiry —the first thorough examination of the School since 1894—was entrusted in 1927 to the New York State Division of Vocational Education. It was heartening to learn the opinion of the experts of this division that the Trade School was "doing a most valuable kind of trade education. It affords a type of preparatory training that is much needed." More surprising to the Trustees, and gratifying indeed, were the few important recommendations resulting from this survey. These dealt principally with the reduction of the size of the classes, the advisability of emphasizing placement work with the graduates, through the employment of a supervisor, and the institution of a school library. Steps were taken to put into effect these suggested changes.

With graduates of the stationary engineering course finding difficulty in being placed, the course was discontinued late in 1927. Only two pupils were in the last class conducted. At that time the School ceased to produce its own electric power and began to purchase it from the Edison Company.

The current increase in the number of hotels and large apartment houses equipped with motors and other lavishly installed electrical equipment which were in constant need of repair and care, led, in 1929, to the division of the electrical department into two sections: electrical wiring and electrical maintenance. The third floor of the east building, which was the new addition to the School and which was formerly used as a sheet-metal shop, was

arranged for use of the newly instituted course in electrical maintenance. This course covers a limited amount of bell and electric light wiring with major emphasis placed on the care and operation of motors and other electrical appliances. Some features of this course are rather new, and the director of the Pullman School, who visited the Trade School recently, remarked that he had prided himself that his was the only school in the country using certain methods which, however, he found already incorporated in the School.

Employment Branch

Placement work received special attention in 1927 with the employment of a registration clerk, part of whose duties was to try to place graduates in positions. Though there had been a falling off in employment the results obtained were encouraging, and Mr. Greene believed that this phase would become an important part of the work of the School. Several hundred announcements were therefore sent out to employers of labor. As a result of this publicity, a marked increase in the number of calls was noted in the following year. Sixty graduates were placed in positions and many others were notified of vacancies.

These results led the following year to the appointment of a placement supervisor, Michael Shapiro, who was formerly a teacher of trade mathematics at the School. Improvement was felt immediately; nearly four-fifths of the graduates of the sixty-sixth class reporting they had found employment, as against an average of only one-half, for the preceding five years. In conjunction with this work, the Baron de Hirsch Trade School Association was formed. Through this organization of the alumni it was planned to get the young men into closer touch while at the School, with the hope that they would continue their association after graduating. In a short time, the older students were sending in word of positions in which graduates could be placed.

A school library of eighty-five volumes that had been installed rapidly attracted the interest of the boys. Frequent visits to the neighborhood public library, where the boys are taught how to use reference books, are productive of results. The School has placed in the hands of the pupils a list of books selected by the public library for general reading.

Under the revised system, the sixty-seventh class—the first after the survey report had been presented—had the lowest number of pupils for many years who left during the term. This was due,

apparently, to the smaller classes and the placement work. Mr. Greene had stated that with more careful selection and supervision of pupils, a maximum of ninety per cent of the enrollment could be graduated. As an actual fact, that year the School did graduate ninety-one per cent.

Changes in Trades

In 1931, of the 160 pupils enrolled in the sixty-ninth class, only eleven left during the term, the lowest in the history of the School. Suggesting slight revisions of the school curriculum, Mr. Greene at this time drew a picture of conditions in the trades, which had changed a great deal in the thirty-five years since the School was started.

"The all-around machinist of that period is rarely found", he pointed out. "His place has been taken by the milling-machine hand, the lathe hand, and others. In certain building trades, as plumbing and electrical work, the position of the helper, such as those we turn out in the Trade School, is more firmly fixed than it was previously. The printers can seek employment as advanced apprentices or 'two-thirders.' In the larger sign painting shops, however, there is a demand for only a few of what may be called helpers; but the graduates get into the one or two-man places where they have a chance to do a greater variety of work, and many of them eventually open up small shops of their own. The two trades which belong to a later period are show-card writing and auto-mechanics."

In regard to the latter trade, Mr. Greene believed that if there could be found young men with a natural tendency towards mechanics, or with the broader all-round experience of the country boy, the five and a half months' period might be sufficient to train them for repair work. However, with the poor background possessed by the average city boy, and owing partly to the overcrowded condition of the trades, many of the auto-mechanics do not succeed, in spite of the fact that applicants for this department are very carefully chosen and preference given to those who have had garage or driving experience. Mr. Greene proposed as an experiment to permit a few of the graduates of the machine shop to take a whole or a partial term's work in the auto-mechanic class to determine what effect this might have upon their ultimate success. While this procedure, he thought, would reduce slightly the total number of graduates for the year, it might increase the number who actually make good. Many of those who apply for this trade

have an eye for the future of aviation and plan to enter the field after having mastered the automobile. To this end, a knowledge of machine shop practice is imperative.

As to show-card writing, Mr. Greene believes that it is among the newer trades and one in which the helper has little, if any, place. It is a trade, however, in his opinion, which is admirable for a limited number of young men possessed with a talent for drawing and color harmony. "Teaching this trade", said Mr. Greene, "is our instructor in sign-painting, and at no time do we intend to admit more than six, to show-card writing. It would be a distinct advantage to some of these young men if they could have two or three months' post-graduate training. The number who might come back for the work would be so small that it would in no way interfere with the regular class nor would it increase the cost of maintenance to an appreciable extent."

The steady growth and expansion of the Trade School is obvious. It is marked by a sixfold increase of its student body; in 1895, there were twenty-eight students enrolled; in the seventy-sixth class, there were 164 students. There are more significant measures of achievement than mere numbers. The recent survey of the School made by the New York State Department of Education in 1928 revealed that nearly seven-tenths of the 334 graduates reporting were employed at the trade in which they were trained or in some closely related vocation. Only one-tenth never worked at the trade for which they received training at the school. Comparison with the experience of similar institutions indicated that these results were unusually favorable.

The majority of the Trade School graduates studied received a wage from twenty to thirty dollars a week. Over seventy-five graduates received from thirty to fifty dollars; and fifteen received fifty to seventy dollars. This, of course, reflects the high wages of 1928. Three-fourths of the graduates stated that the School furnishes adequate preparation for successful entrance to a trade, because of good basic training, and excellent teaching.

Despite the serious difficulties in securing employment in 1931, more than fifty-six per cent of the seventy-first class found work within less than a year after graduation; in the seventy-second class, more than fifty-two per cent found work within five months after graduation. One firm, the Union Wire Die Corporation, has eight or ten graduates in its employ. About two years ago, a young machinist was placed with them, and they have taken on others as business demanded. Demands for Trade School graduates have been forthcoming from the very beginning.



The First Class—With Instructors—to Graduate at 222 E. 64th St.
—1899—

Appraisal

The more than nine thousand students graduated from the Baron de Hirsch Trade School represent just the sort of contribution to the economic assimilation of the Jewish immigrants in the New World that the first Trustees of the Fund hoped to make. They desired to wean away the immigrants from the needle industries and to make it possible for them to enter non-Jewish trades. This offered extreme difficulties in the early Nineties. As they saw it, to teach them "American" trades, American technical processes and methods, was to open the door for positions with American firms, non-Jewish unions, and, for the more able, to create opportunities for advancement in their field, through business or the professions. In part, it solved the need of retraining many who had trade experience in the "old" country and who would have lost their advantage in this respect without such help. Particularly did it supply the prospect for a great many Jewish young men with technical ability of utilizing their special aptitudes. The result was a surprise to many Americans, who cherished the customary notion that Jews were fit only for business or peddling, to learn that Jews were possessed of much of that mechanical ability of which non-Jews were believed to have a monopoly. Mr. Yalden, himself a Christian, after his lifetime of dealing with Jewish young men in the School, was unable to remark any difference on this score between his pupils and those of any other group. It was also noticeable that quite a number of graduates left the city and settled in other places, though the prospects afforded by this city and its immense population made the many small shops opened by graduates with their technical knowledge of plumbing, sign-painting, machinist, show-card writing, electrical wiring, etc. quite remunerative.

One glances over the "Who's Who" printed in 1928 by the School, which records the brief tales of several hundred graduates who have "made good". On the whole the stories are simple, of men earning successively higher wages at their trade. In many cases they own small shops, and quite a few conduct large businesses. The head of the largest firm of plumbing contractors, the largest electrical contractor in the Bronx, the owner of a corrugated paper machinery plant whose business is nationwide—all had their humble beginnings in the shops of the School. Many were not content with this elementary start, and studied further. We find, among them, architectural draftsmen, a teacher of electric wiring at a local high school, members of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, a junior astronomer at the U. S. Naval Observatory, an instructor of mathematics at the Alexander

Hamilton High School, and a studio manager of the Universal Pictures Corporation. The case might be mentioned of Jekuthiel Ginsburg, who studied printing at the School, later worked at the trade, graduated from Columbia University, and is now Professor of Mathematics at Yeshiva College and editor of Scripta Mathematica, one of the foremost mathematical journals in the country.

In evaluating the work of the Trade School, it is noteworthy that the ideals of the School as enunciated by Mr. Yalden and approved by the Trustees nearly forty years ago have been followed with remarkable consistency all through this long period. Many changes have occurred in the field of industrial education. In this city, what amounts to a revolution has taken place with the introduction and development by the Board of Education of a large number of vocational, continuation and industrial high schools, needle-craft schools, etc. This complex and extensive system of vocational education, was not at the service of the immigrant youth a generation ago. It is quite doubtful whether these schools would have fitted his needs any more closely than the New York Trade School, which was in existence a decade before the Baron de Hirsch Fund was created. In the first place, the average age of the Trade School student is over eighteen, whereas the municipal system of education was being evolved for a much younger class, those leaving the public schools at about fourteen. Even more basic was the conflict in emphasis. The aims of the short trade course as evolved by Mr. Yalden and those of the educational authorities of the city differed materially. For the latter, vocational training is part of a general educational program, which involves a minimum attendance of at least a year. This approaches technical education rather than trade training. Mr. Greene remarked that the present swing toward technical schools tended to make people interested in vocational education lose the proper balance of values between the trade and the technical schools. They favor the latter unduly, losing sight of the fact that a great army of young men is needed to perform the manual labor of the city. For these the technical schools have nothing to offer.

The demand is still there, he indicated. The registration for the seventy-fourth class, July 1932, was so large that, if the numbers had not been limited, it would have exceeded all previous enrollments. The major applications today come, it is true, from native-born rather than from immigrant young men. Their needs, however, must be met. Many of them leave public school because the course of instruction is irksome, or beyond their depth, or to get "working papers". Later, when they decide to make a new start, they find that practically all doors are closed to them. It has been

estimated that at least three-fifths of the pupils of the Trade School are not eligible for admission to the industrial high schools of the city, where the mechanical trades are taught. If they were eligible, few of them could afford to spend the long time involved.

This short-course trade school, then, as organized and evolved by Mr. Yalden, was the brainchild of a practical educator who sought to unite the needs of the Jewish immigrant youth of a generation ago and the demands of industry. The ideals of the Fund were incorporated with remarkable fidelity in the methods and the product of the Trade School. It has stood alone, a unique institution of its time. That it should survive the recent strong developments of the newer industrial education, and be still serving a large body of young men in this city, is a tribute to its founders.

The Trade School has left its mark upon the general Jewish public. It opened the way for the utilization of unexpected and unrealized skills, along mechanical lines, which had not been given adequate expression in Eastern Europe. This was due to the poverty of these communities and to the restrictions and discriminations imposed upon them by the environment. It led to a much wider appreciation of the importance of technical training on the part of the immigrant Jews of America, which was reinforced by the admirable higher type of industrial education given in the Hebrew Technical Institute. After the experimental period had passed, the Trade School became recognized among immigrant Jews as one of the most useful institutions created by the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

"The graduates of the school," reported Mr. Furney of the New York State Education Department, in the course of his survey, "feel a deep debt of gratitude to the school and its teachers." It is not surprising, then, to read that not long ago, one of the members of an early class, calling at the School after an absence of many years, said, with the feeling characteristic of the Russian Jew, "This school is to me the most holy spot in New York, for to it I owe all that I have in America."

There was prophecy, then, in the conclusions of a well-known educator, Dr. William McMurtrie, of the University of Illinois, who wrote, after his visit to the School about twenty-five years ago:

> To so prepare these young men that they may rise from the class of ordinary laborers to the high class of skilled workmen, from a class in which they must seek work to that in which their services must be sought after, is a long step in the advancement of their social condition. It insures useful citizenship—the great end which Baron de Hirsch seems to have had in mind.

CHAPTER VII

IMMIGRANT AID, PROTECTION AND LEGISLATION

Part 1.—National Activities

Problems of the Nineties

The Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund were from the beginning energetic in the defense and protection of the Jewish immigrant group. In 1890 and 1891, for example, Federal efforts were made to exclude large numbers of Russian Jewish refugees. In this attempt, local immigration officials often transgressed the law or excluded Jews under unjustifiably severe constructions of the law. Senator Chandler and the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of immigration supported the inspectors. Partial relief from this persecution was found in the courts. But a great deal more relief was effected by the representations made to the Government by two of the Fund's Trustees—Mr. Schiff and Mr. Jesse Seligman—at the particular instance of the Fund's General Agent, Mr. A. S. Solomons.

The organization of aid to immigrants upon their arrival in American ports involved aspects of immigrant needs. Primarily, there was the immediate work of providing the proper information and advice, locating friends and relatives, and seeing the immigrants safely placed in suitable homes or sent to their destination. This activity, we have seen, was considered as "port work". But a second division of immigrant aid—which may be termed Immigration Legislation and Policies—proved of vital significance.

The protection of the immigrants often made it necessary to argue their cases before immigration boards and at times presenting an appeal to Washington. A natural development was the broader effort to secure a proper interpretation of the immigration laws and, wherever necessary (in cases where an unjust or overly strict construction of the law had been placed upon it) to bring the case before the higher courts and to furnish the best counsel to argue the case. Still a further concomitant was naturally the protection of immigrants' interests through the determination of the proper policies of the country toward immigration. In this

situation, the Baron de Hirsch Fund did not hesitate to favor a liberal immigration policy and to fight against unjust measures of restriction or the complete elimination of immigration proposed at various times.

In the legislation activity, as in the port work, the beginnings were laid down in a systematic, watchful, continuous fashion by the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. They assumed the leadership, especially during the Nineties, of all this work on behalf of the Jewish immigrant, and the efforts of other Jewish organizations followed along the lines laid down by them. Throughout the country, the Fund paved the way for the coordination of activities dealing with the immigrant, for the combination of the leaders of the various immigrant groups of the United States, and for the creation of organized sentiment in behalf of the immigrant.

Restriction Through Administrative Procedure

How valuable was the Fund's endeavor in the field of immigration policy and legislation is demonstrated by the troublous situation which prevailed in 1910 and 1911—a period in which there was a great inflow of Jewish immigrants. Serious and widespread efforts to reduce immigration by illegal executive action had been initiated by Commissioner Williams at Ellis Island, the Commissioner-General of Immigration Keefe and Assistant Secretary of Commerce McHarg. Under cover of a federal statute making the action of immigration officials non-reviewable in the courts, Williams and the Commissioner-General evolved a series of novel rulings, adjudged their subordinates incompetent, and removed or demoted them if they did not carry these rules into practice. The first of these rulings was that the immigrant who did not have $25 in his possession was to be excluded as likely to become a public charge. Still more serious was the second ruling, in which offers of aid, unless from those legally obligated to support the immigrants, were ordered to be disregarded, on the assumption that immigrants thus aided were likely to become a public charge; only the husband supporting his wife and minor children was permitted to offer aid. On the other hand, bonds against becoming public charges were refused on the ground that the Government should not go into the wholesale bonding business. Finally, the revolutionary dogma was enunciated that the law must be strictly construed with reference to the alien. This, in the face of our fundamental principle that all laws in restraint of personal free-

dom are to be construed liberally in favor of the individual. Color for this latter ruling was found in the law requiring immigrant inspectors on primary inspection to hold for the Board of Special Inquiry's action, immigrants not found qualified to enter "clearly and beyond a reasonable doubt."

Test Cases

Exclusions multiplied and there was danger that America would shut its doors to hundreds of thousands of deserving immigrants. Accordingly Judge Elkus, Judge Bijur and Mr. Kohler took an active hand in fighting these rulings in the courts by means of test cases. Mr. Kohler, as Assistant U. S. District Attorney from 1894 to 1898, and thereafter in private practice, had had considerable experience in immigration cases.

Four habeas corpus test cases were accordingly brought by Judge Elkus and Mr. Kohler. After a motion to dismiss on the pleadings was denied, the government released the immigrants during their pendency. However, the brief prepared by the Fund's representatives (Matter of Skuratowski) was printed in pamphlet form, extensively circulated, and later reprinted by the U. S. Immigration Commission in its Reports (Vol. 41, pp. 160-181). Thus, the decision of Commissioner Williams that once a case was decided there was no power to review it, was reversed by the court. Commissioner Williams was forced to remove the objectionable instructions to his subordinates from the Board rooms; nevertheless he followed the prohibited practices more deviously.

About a year later, a "Statement" was submitted to the U. S. Immigration Commission by the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights, of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the American Jewish Committee, and the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, embodying these and related points, which was printed in that Commission's Reports (Vol. 41, p. 129 et seq.). The statement was signed, among others, by Jacob H. Schiff, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Judge Elkus and Mr. Kohler of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Judge Julian Mack, Louis Marshall, Julius Rosenwald, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Simon Wolf, and Adolph Kraus. It was drafted by Mr. Kohler, with the aid of Judge Elkus and Dr. Adler. One result was that the U. S. Immigration Commission, in its own report, condemned such unlawful interference by the Commissioner of Immigration and others, and likewise condemned as detrimental to the immigrant the quasi-judicial conduct of their subordinates.

"A Government of Laws and Not of Men"

The disregard of our principle of "a government of laws and not of men" came up for public discussion with Mr. Schiff, Mr. Kohler and Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagel, as participants at the biennial convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in January, 1911. Extensively printed in the country's newspapers, and in pamphlet form by the Fund, the addresses aroused wide attention. Rapidly, the percentage of exclusions declined.

The fight went on, and the first brief of its kind was filed by the Fund through Mr. Kohler to prevent the substitution of administrative power in place of legal definition. This was illustrated in the Goldfarb case in January 1912 (Dept. of Commerce and Labor decision #120). This referred to a case in which the immigrant was diagnosed as insane. The practice was for the immigration officials to refer all cases of suspected insanity to the New York State Lunacy Commission and to accept their statement as final. The objection was made that this would result in the immigration officials serving as rubber stamps for these hospital experts. It was decided that not only was the situation to be reviewed generally but that the underlying causes of insanity were also to be examined and considered. (Case of Pauline Fink—U. S. Ex. relative to Fink v. Tod. 1 Federal Reporter, Series 2, no. 246, CCA).

Gegiow vs. Uhl

When the U. S. Supreme Court decided the case of Gegiow vs. Uhl (239 U. S. 3) in October, 1915, this chapter was ended. Mr. Justice Holmes, writing the decision for a unanimous court (thus reversing both of the lower courts), held that the non-reviewability statute did not bar judicial review where fundamental errors were committed against the alien, and that the absence of all affirmative evidence of disability raised a question of law. Mr. Kohler and his associates argued in favor of this principle on constitutional grounds. The $25 dogma and the disregard of aid from persons not legally obligated to support the alien, were also among the other questions there incidentally decided in favor of Mr. Kohler's contentions. Mr. Kohler and Judge Elkus prepared the brief, and the former made the chief argument in Washington.

Among other significant cases were: Commissioner of Immigration v. Gottlieb (265 U. S. 310), Mancy v. U. S. (278 U. S. 17) (an important naturalization case), Waldman v. Tod (266 U. S.

113), which involved the exemption of religious refugees from the literacy test of the immigration laws, and Fink v. U. S. (267 U. S. 570) which reversed a decision (Fed. (2) 246) as to a right to medical rehearings and review. These important cases involved many other immigrants more or less similarly situated.

A wide variety of matters affecting aliens absorbed the attention of the Fund and its Trustees. In opposition to the bill on Registration of Aliens, Mr. Kohler's effective argument before the House Committee on Immigration early in 1923, helped to end the matter. This and other matters on the subject were published at the expense of the Fund in two elaborate pamphlets in 1924 and 1926, and a supplemental pamphlet in 1930.

Registration of Aliens

A sequel occurred in 1931 in connection with the Michigan Anti-Alien Registration and Deportation Law, which the Fund's representatives helped to have declared unconstitutional (Arrowsmith v. Voorhies 55 Fed. (2) 310). Messrs. Theodore Levin and Fred M. Butzel of Detroit were the chief counsel in Michigan. The State of Michigan acquiesced in the decision; its bill was similar to bills introduced in California and some twenty other States, all now apparently abandoned.

Residence of Aliens

Of special importance was the work done by Mr. Louis Marshall, with the cooperation of Mr. Kohler, in forcing the Government to abandon its novel claim (evolved by Assistant Secretary of Labor, now Judge Henning), that aliens whose wives and children were still abroad had no "residence" here under our naturalization laws, but that their "home" remained abroad, where their wives and children still live. (Abdallah's Naturalization 6 Pa. District and County Reports 41 Stern, P. J.) This ruling meant that under the Quota Laws (which assigned very small quotas to the countries from which the so-called "new" immigrants came, and made no adequate provision for wives and minor children of resident aliens, whose husband and father breadwinners had come over in large numbers in recent years), even the loop-hole afforded by the grant of non-quota status to wives and minor children of naturalized citizens was to be closed, thus preventing the reunion of separated families.

The recent increase in the deportation of aliens is also a very serious matter, largely due to general "raids" in which alleged aliens have latterly been arrested wholesale, without prior investigation, and often, in violation of the law, ordered deported. The burden of proof to rebut deportation is on the alien; only about one-sixth are able to give bail or can afford to employ counsel. The able work on "Deportation of Aliens" by Miss Jane Clark of Barnard College and Mr. Reuben Oppenheimer's report on the subject for the Wickersham Commission, approved by a large majority of the Commission, have concentrated public attention as never before on this subject.

Naturalization Problems

In a recent report to the Fund's Trustees, Mr. Kohler presented an analysis of the naturalization situation, which is daily assuming greater importance. "Our immigration laws," he wrote, "are constantly being enlarged so as to permit deportations of aliens without limit of time; citizenship by naturalization for the alien and his minor children is the only real relief, even against pure misfortune warranting deportation. No one has discretionary power to dispense with deportation. The Cable Act of 1922, giving women independent citizenship has deprived them since then of citizenship through marriage. The number of occupations closed by law to aliens (including even peddling) is constantly increasing. Mothers' pensions, old-age relief and emergency relief are being increasingly denied to the non-citizen. Most serious of all is the fact that the labor unions generally exclude non-citizens, and non-membership in a labor union closes most industrial employments to the aliens. On the other hand, the requirements for naturalization, statutory and administrative, are constantly becoming more stringent, the fees have been increased to a prohibitory figure in many cases (especially under present conditions), and heavily increased educational requirements are impending. Subsidies to naturalization aid organizations are therefore constantly becoming more important, as also to agencies for the education of the foreign born, though very few individuals and organizations recognize their importance and value, and such agencies are particularly the victims of depressed economic conditions."

Appearances at Congressional Committees

When the several Trustees of the Fund—who also represented other organizations—appeared before the Congressional Committee in 1910, they pointed out the innumerable contradictions that characterized the reports of the investigations of the United States

Immigration Commission. They showed that criminality among immigrants living in the United States was less than among the American born; that the proportion of illiterates among the children of immigrants was on an average much less than among children of native Americans; that the Jewish institutions for their diffusion and distribution and for their social and civic education furthered the Americanization of the immigrant.

It is gratifying to point out that efforts to look after the legitimate interests of the immigrant before Congressional Committees are no longer a distinctly and exclusively Jewish task, as they once were, in substance. There exists today an informal "Joint Legislative Committee" for exchanging views and recommending action to different organizations, on which important Christian and nonsectarian organizations are active, besides the Jewish societies.

Millions of Immigrants Affected

The immigrant defense work of the Fund was in a way the largest piece of work undertaken by the Fund, in that it involved the interests of millions of immigrants. In this, as Mr. Kohler pointed out, it differed from the work undertaken by the Fund in other directions which affected much smaller numbers, such as the Trade School and Woodbine.

Today, the need of immigrant aid and defense work is not very different from those of the Nineties and the early decades of the present century, except that with the tremendous decline in the numbers of immigrants, the work on the many fronts may be carried on more intensively and with far greater hope of doing justice to the individual than was before possible. Other angles that have assumed greater importance in recent years are the legislative discrimination against aliens, and matters of public policy involving economic competition between natives and aliens.

The untimely death of Mr. Kohler in the summer of 1934 closed the distinguished career of this champion of the cause of human liberties. Mr. Kohler served as Honorary Secretary of the Baron de Hirsch Fund since his election as Trustee in 1906. He became its expert on immigration matters, and was chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Immigrant Aid throughout the twenty-eight years of his membership on the Board of Trustees. Owing to his initiative, a Jewish Immigration Committee was organized to coordinate the work of the various Jewish organizations at Ellis Island. This is not the place to dwell on his remarkable grasp of the immigration problem in all its aspects, sociological and legal; his decades of legal and legislative battles on behalf of the immigrant in the course of which some of the legal principles he fought for have been incorporated into the law of the land; his many technical writings on the subject of the immigrant and the alien; his activity in many fields, Jewish and non-Jewish. Characteristically, he spent himself and broke his health in the trying tasks created by the recent influx of Jewish refugees from Germany.

Part 2.—Work in Other Cities and of Subsidized Societies

Section A.—Committees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and Other Jewish Agencies

Philadelphia Committee

Aid to immigrants in the form of various types of relief was offered for the Fund in Philadelphia through the auxiliary branch of the United Hebrew Charities. These aids, besides the teaching of trades, supplying of tools and assisting in business, also included port work, securing employment, transporting of immigrants to relatives or where work could be found. Employment work was strong and steady from 1894 to 1907, during which period it averaged about 175 placements a year. From then on it declined to an average of about 70 placements until 1912. An important effort was the work of transporting immigrants to their destination. Between 1894 and 1899, an average of 240 persons were aided in this way, but in 1900 it rose to 480. After that the transportation work declined heavily, and from 1905 it disappeared almost entirely. In 1916, there was only one case of this type. A small number of immigrants were also assisted by the local charities by temporary support each year. This number diminished gradually from 719 in 1894 to 272 in 1912.

The total subsidies of the relief efforts of the United Hebrew Charities' auxiliary and the educational work of the Hebrew Education Society by the Baron de Hirsch Fund aggregated $110,000 from 1891 to 1918. In 1891, the Fund contributed $9,000; from 1894 to 1908 the subsidy was $6,000, with the exception of 1906, when it was $3,000. In 1909 and in the period 1910 to 1913, the Fund granted the Philadelphia Committee $5,500. The subsidy dropped to $5,000 in 1914-1915, and $4,400 in 1916, when, with the stoppage of immigration and the absence of a need for employment agency work, the subsidy to the U.H.C. was entirely dis-

continued. In that year, the president of the auxiliary branch of the U.H.C. notified the Fund that it had decided to terminate its work and it would therefore not require any further funds. This fell in line with a decision of the Trustees of the Fund to discontinue subventions of this character where the work done was wholly of the employment agency type on the ground that such work was no longer necessary, and where the necessity should arise the cost should be assumed by the local societies.

The Fund's contributions to the Philadelphia Committee throughout this twenty-two year period was divided between the U.H.C. branch and the Hebrew Education Society, with the former receiving a slightly larger amount for relief purposes—until 1916.

Representing the Fund in Philadelphia were the Trustees from that city; William B. Hackenburg, Judge Mayer Sulzberger and Samuel S. Fleisher; George Goward was the Fund's agent, throughout this period of over forty years.

Baltimore Committee

In Baltimore, the Committee representing the Baron de Hirsch Fund was originally composed of Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, Chairman; Cyrus Adler and Elias Rohr. Created in 1890, its purpose was to relieve newly arrived immigrants and aid them to become self-supporting. Aside from teaching trades, Americanization activities and general relief work, aid was given those immigrants who were detained on landing. Lost baggage and addresses of relatives were also located. After the Hebrew Benevolent Society took over the work of the local committee, it engaged a special agent whose duty it was to meet the immigrants at the pier and to give required assistance. Over a period of forty years some of these types of immigrant aid in Baltimore were subsidized in part by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. That this activity was needed was manifested by the increased Jewish immigration: in the Nineties, an average of 2,000 immigrants came to Baltimore; from 1900 to 1905, it had risen to 5,000.

The Fund's support of the Baltimore Committee declined from $6,700 in 1893 to $2,400 in 1900. It remained at the latter figure for five years. In 1905, when immigration had increased about two-and-a-half times, the appropriation was raised to $3,000. In 1910 it was again cut to $2,500, but with the virtual cessation of Jewish immigration at Baltimore beginning in 1917, the subsidy was gradually reduced to $600 in 1922 and was finally discontinued in 1930.

Dr. Friedenwald and his original committee had resigned in

1905 feeling that the $2,400 subsidy was insufficient for the work engaged in and the committee could not cope with the situation. Mr. Moses Pels became head of the Baltimore Committee of the Fund.

In 1901, Dr. Friedenwald had requested the Fund to be allowed to turn over the work of the Baltimore Committee to the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Baltimore. Until the Baltimore branch ceased to exist in 1914 and the Fund's subsidy stopped in 1930, the Society administered for the Fund the various types of relief to immigrants.[2]

Boston Committee

An important form of immigrant aid was rendered by the Baron de Hirsch Fund through its local committee in Boston when it helped to support the Free Employment Bureau. In the beginning jobs were found for several thousand immigrants and many were sheltered, taught trades and given relief in other ways. Special attempts were made to encourage immigrants to settle in the country, but apparently these efforts were not very successful until the Industrial Removal Office undertook this work. When the Boston branch of the Fund was initiated, it took over much of the work of the employment bureau. In an average year, 1911, it had 800 applicants; of these 325 were placed at work.

Boston represented not one port but three, for it also received immigrants from St. John and Quebec. The deplorable condition of the detained immigrants was brought to the attention of the U. S. Immigration Commissioner at Boston in 1903, through the Boston Committee. As a result a new building was erected where the immigrants were cared for in a proper manner. Two years later, there was difficulty in the landing of female immigrants; the Boston Committee accordingly placed an agent at the dock to meet the steamships. And in 1907, the Boston Committee employed an agent to take care of the immigrants threatened with deportation.

In 1911 the Committee organized a local council of societies doing immigrant work, as a branch of the National Immigration Council. The Fund continued to subsidize the Boston Committee until 1916.

National Council of Jewish Women

The National Council, through its Department of Service for the Foreign Born, concerns itself with the immigrant girl from

the time she leaves home in Europe until she is placed after her arrival at her destination. Its local sections then take care of her. The Council's clerks copy from the manifest sheets, and commonly from other sources previously, the name of every Jewish girl between the ages of twelve and twenty-five. Inquiries are sent daily to the Council's correspondents, of which a chain has been established in 275 American cities. The correspondents are requested to see that the girl is properly situated, has work, and that she is made acquainted with American institutions. Realizing the dangers that deported immigrants are encountering abroad, the Council has also devised a method of safeguarding girls in foreign ports and has established relations with eleven European ports and societies. In an illustrative period, 1920-1923, 70,000 persons were served at the port of entry: 65,000 at Ellis Island, 3,000 at Philadelphia and 2,000 at Boston. Other ports functioning under national supervision which have been recently opened are San Francisco, Seattle and Providence. Among its general activities, the Immigrant Aid Department cares for detained children and maintains a kindergarten for them, conducts religious services, organizes mothers' classes to teach the rudiments of English, attends to the safe transportation of immigrants, and carries on activities before congressional committees and the departments of the Government.

In 1906, the Fund began subsidizing the Council with $1,000 for the employment of an agent for the care and direction of arriving immigrant girls. When the Jewish Immigration Committee was formed, the Fund subsidized the Council through the committee for a number of years. Beginning in 1916, the Fund has been granting the Council directly the sum of $2,000 a year, and an equal amount to its New York Section.

Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society

Organized in 1902, the H.I.A.S. today has a widespread organization with branches at Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Seattle and San Francisco. Its work is carried on by a number of departments: Shelter, Distribution and Transportation, Information, Education, Employment, Foreign Service, Social Service, Religious Endeavor, Follow-up, Oriental Jews, Naturalization and Americanization. The Baron de Hirsch Fund granted subsidies to H.I.A.S. from 1908 to 1916, totaling $23,250, and besides these appropriations the Industrial Removal Office and the Jewish Agricultural Society also supplied it with funds at various times.

In 1917, the Society refused to accept further subsidies from the Fund. Its attitude was that since the support it was receiving from American Jewry was sufficiently ample to enable it to conduct its work properly, the Society desired complete freedom from the supervision of contributing organizations, such as the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

Clara de Hirsch Home for Immigrant Girls (Now the *Hannah Lavanburg Home*)

It was the wish of Baroness de Hirsch, when she endowed the Clara de Hirsch Home in 1897, to establish a trade training school for girls, with a boarding department for those who went to work. With the increase of immigration and congestion, as well as the unfortunate condition in which immigrant girls were found, the need arose for another building, and the Clara de Hirsch Home for Immigrant Girls was established in down-town New York in 1904. Here the immigrant is housed until her relatives are found and after a thorough investigation she is free to go to them. The girls are given personal direction and care is taken that their surroundings are beneficial. They have access to classes in beginner's English and concerts, social dancing and clubs are provided for their entertainment. Girls planning to meet their fiancés are frequently brought to the Home where amid kind friends the otherwise lonely brides are married. The Baron de Hirsch Fund contributed to the Home between $1,500 and $2,750 annually during the first five or six years of its existence.

When the Home was generously endowed by Mrs. Oscar S. Straus, its president, and her brother, Frederick L. Lavanburg, as the "Hannah Lavanburg Home", in memory of their mother, continuance of the Fund's subsidy was no longer necessary.

Hebrew Free Loan Society

Established in the early Nineties as the Gemilath Chassodim Association the Society has been the practical embodiment of the idea of self-help. Instead of giving alms, it loans money to those in need. Loans of $5 to $500 are made on notes endorsed by reputable business men, without charge of interest or expense of any kind, the borrower repaying the loan in weekly installments. Over four-fifths of the loans have been made without requiring that the endorsers have a commercial rating. Records show that almost ninety-seven per cent of the loans are repaid by the borrowers, and less than two per cent by the endorsers.

Through the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Baroness de Hirsch

donated an aggregate of $12,000 to the Society from 1897 to 1902. In 1903, the Jewish Agricultural Society granted a loan of $6,000 to the Hebrew Free Loan Society.

SECTION B.—NON-JEWISH AGENCIES

The Baron de Hirsch Fund has frequently given financial assistance to non-sectarian agencies and organizations, in the course of whose work the interests of Jewish immigrants are directly or indirectly served. The following organizations are among those now receiving this aid:

Foreign Language Information Service

By interpreting America to the immigrant and the immigrant to America, the F.L.I.S. attempts to make a practical contribution to the problems of assimilation and Americanization. The immigrant's first steps on the road to assimilation, it is now recognized, must be taken in his own language. The Service uses the 1156 foreign language newspapers and thousands of foreign language organizations in the United States to reach the mass of foreign born and acquaint them with American life and institutions, traditions and ideals. The English language press is used as a channel to acquaint Americans with our foreign born people. Its work is chiefly comprised in translating and distributing to the foreign language press of the United States articles on American industries and other educational material prepared by the Federal Government bureaus as well as from such organizations as the National Tuberculosis Association, the National Geographic Society, and others. Large numbers of aliens come to the F.L.I.S. for advice and information. A special service is conducted for social and civic agencies, libraries, state departments of education, banks and industries employing foreign born workers. Its organization began in 1918 as a division of the United States Commission on Public Information when the War brought home to the whole nation the importance of having our foreign born thoroughly familiar with American institutions and traditions. In 1921, the F.L.I.S. became an independent organization.

Headed by Mr. Read Lewis and Miss Marian Schibsby, it remains the best medium for reporting weekly on legislation regarding immigration and naturalization. It maintains a capable Washington representative, keeping closely in touch with this type of legislation. For several years, the Fund's subsidy was $1,000.

National League for American Citizenship

A clearing house for more than 300 corresponding national agencies throughout the United States, who seek advice and guidance in matters of naturalization, the National League for American Citizenship helped over 30,000 foreign born, representing forty-three nationalities in 1932. Its citizenship work involves the counteraction of swindling, fraud and graft, and the giving of legal advice. Free citizenship classes are maintained, citizenship talks are broadcast, post-citizenship clubs are conducted, a committee on legislation is active, and a research bureau is maintained. The League also cooperates with trade unions in Americanization work. As for the corresponding organizations, the League refers to them the cases located in their centers, and gives help in cases which they refer to the League. There are eleven branches of the National League in New York City. Nathaniel Phillips is the President, and Harold Fields the Executive Director.

The Fund's small subsidy was for the League's naturalization aid work. Half of the money went to pay for notices urging applicants for final papers to take requisite educational courses in time to prepare for the final naturalization examination at nearby designated schools.

National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship

This is composed of member organizations and individual men and women affiliated with national and local civic bodies representing every part of the United States. It promotes coordinated effort in behalf of assimilation of the alien and education for good citizenship. By assembling information and acting as a clearing bureau, it is designed to be of practical help to agencies interested in the prospective citizen. There is a New York City Department of Service for the Foreign Born and, among its many activities, it distributes pamphlets on naturalization. A study on "Naturalization Fees" was reprinted in the "Congressional Record."

International Migration Service

Both the I.M.S. and its executive body, the International Committee, were established in 1924. This committee meets annually to discuss all matters of common interest which would contribute to an understanding between nations and to nurture an international approach to the problems of migration.

The Service has two outstanding purposes: First, to aid people whose personal and family difficulties arise as the result of migration and require intelligently coordinated service in different parts

of the world. Second, to study conditions and consequences of migration in their effects on the individual, the family and social life. Constructive action in this field must be based on reliable data which can be obtained principally from an examination of the effects on individuals of the conflicts between the laws and policies of different nations.

Its work concentrates on the international problems of migrants, the endeavor to find lost relatives, to unite separated families or to make sound plans for those who cannot be reunited. The organization attempts to solve two types of problems for the migrant; the technical problem—that which has to do with passports, permits of entry, certificates of all kinds called for by laws of countries of destination before visas can be obtained; and social problems—those which have to do with illiteracy, disease, etc.

The Baron de Hirsch Fund, for several years, granted it a subsidy of $1,000.

Traveler's Aid Society

The Traveler's Aid Society in the United States, inaugurated in 1866, is a non-sectarian, protective organization to safeguard travelers. Its functions are fourfold: 1. To investigate on request the inducements that cause people to leave their homes—deceptive letters, advertisements, offered positions, questionable acquaintances. 2. To protect and aid travelers, especially girls, women and boys, in various emergencies until they reach their destinations. 3. To assist travelers to respectable and suitable lodgings, responsible institutions, or back to their own homes. 4. To place the names of strangers with organizations which will help assimilate them into the community. Its activities consist essentially of moral protective work.

In 1917, a typical year in which the Baron de Hirsch granted an appropriation to it, the Traveler's Aid Society assisted 30,422 persons. Their services in that year might be listed under the following classifications: guiding persons under 16 years of age who were traveling alone; meeting strangers by appointment; meeting steamers and directing travelers; serving meals and giving lodging at headquarters, and social service.

The Fund's small subsidy was for its excellent port and railway aid work, all non-sectarian.

CHAPTER VIII

AMERICANIZATION ACTIVITIES

PART 1.—THE BARON DE HIRSCH IMMIGRANT CLASSES

IN THE preceding pages the economic needs of the immigrant Jews have been stressed and the efforts of the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund to facilitate their transition to a new industrial and agricultural environment. Cultural assimilation was early recognized as of significance, though it was natural that the strongest emphasis was upon ways and means of enabling the new masses to earn their livelihood. In the early Nineties, institutions and organizations designed to assist the immigrants in absorbing the American mode of life were just beginning to function on the East Side. The University Settlement had been started in 1884. The Hebrew Institute, later known as The Educational Alliance, which has been described as an Americanization school, a social settlement and an adult educational agency of a superior kind, had been created in 1891 shortly after the Baron de Hirsch Fund came into existence. The term "Americanization", with all that it implies today, had not yet been invented. In conformity with the rule laid down from the first, the Trustees sought to enlist the aid of existing agencies in their program of education for the immigrant child and adult. In the course of time, their Americanization work came to consist of the Baron de Hirsch classes in English and citizenship, a settlement in Brownsville begun under their auspices, and subsidies to societies and organizations doing work of this character in this city and elsewhere.

Beginning the English Classes

The Committee on General Education of the Fund lost no time, as we have seen, in putting its plans into operation. Doubts raised as to whether the children would take to these classes and whether efficient teachers could be secured to train them were quickly answered. The English classes were started early in the summer of 1890, five day classes for children, and five in the evening for adults, and the curriculum was expanded to include arithmetic, geography and penmanship. By August of the same year, four

hundred pupils were in attendance, and the need for additional classes became at once apparent. Mr. Louis Schnabel was the principal.

A device that has since been adopted by social agencies working among immigrants was the employment of "visitors". Originally these men had been active in the gathering of the census mentioned previously. Some of them were now used to spread the gospel of the English classes among immigrant parents. They also kept in touch with the public school principals in the Seventh, Tenth and Thirteenth wards, so as to be able to assist the truant officers of the Board of Education in detecting cases where children were kept from school unlawfully. "It should not be the aim of a Society like ours," the sub-committee on education noted, "in any wise to take the place of any public institution, but simply by every legitimate means to forward the work which is being carried on at the public expense." The greatest difficulty experienced by the visitors was to persuade parents to remove their children from the "cheder", and to impress upon them that the Baron de Hirsch Schools were not a scheme for weaning the children from orthodoxy. The swift success of this program was due, in part, to the high calibre of some of the visitors. Among them were the Rev. Adolph Radin, who later became one of the most beloved preachers on the East Side, Caspar Levias and Max L. Margolis, in later years Professor of Semitics at the Hebrew Union College, Dropsie College and the University of California.

The Religious Question

The "cheder" on the East Side, investigation had showed, was a degenerate form of what had once been an effective educational institution in Eastern Europe. Feared as a stumbling block to Americanization, its elimination appeared desirable to the Trustees of the Fund. A special class for Hebrew teachers, the "Melamdin" class, was instituted. It was hoped that through this class, many teachers would be led to drop the "cheder" work altogether, or at least to modernize their instruction.

Rev. Clifton Harby Levy, the assistant superintendent of the Fund classes, attacked the problem from another angle: he proposed that Hebrew be included in the program of teaching. He argued that this would enlist the support of the immigrant parents and weaken the "cheder" more effectively than any other method. His proposal met with little sympathy, however, and the matter was dropped.

There were other angles to the religious question and the schools

in these early days. One of them was the activity of the schools conducted on the East Side by the Five Points Mission Schools and the Children's Aid Society. The charge was made that they were serving not as Americanizing but as proselyting agencies. As a result of the agitation, more than one hundred children were transferred from them to the Fund classes.

By the end of 1890 an enrollment of 740 pupils had been reached, the teaching staff numbering twenty-one persons. Educational methods were highly flexible and adapted to the individual child. As quickly as a child learned enough English, and an opening for him was found, he was entered in a public school by the principal of the Hirsch classes. Frequently the child entered the public school of his own accord. During 1891, 740 pupils were thus admitted to city schools.

The Reading Room

The sub-committee on education, which included M. A. Kursheedt, Judge Samuel Greenbaum and Herman Rosenthal, stressed the need of a special library for immigrants. "Such a library should be well supplied with at least 2,000 volumes in Hebrew and Russian, of a character calculated to broaden the minds of the readers and give them solid instruction, and located in a hall furnished so as to give them some idea of order and neatness. Such a library must have assistants, who, like the library in the People's Palace in London, devote their entire time to advising the readers what books to select, and who are thoroughly well versed in literature and who would exercise a refining influence upon those visiting the hall." This reading room and library for adults was finally opened in the Hebrew Institute and became one of the most popular institutions on the East Side, paving the way for the most successful of all the branch libraries in New York City, the Seward Park division of the New York Public Library, later built opposite the Educational Alliance. Lecture courses were also instituted on subjects of interest to immigrants.

The demand for day classes grew so great that it became necessary to restrict admission to recent arrivals who could not speak English. By November, 1891, there were eleven day classes and six evening classes. The latter were exclusively for girls who worked in shops during the day. In addition, they were provided with courses in dressmaking and hairdressing. In 1891, the Fund's educational budget was $750 monthly; a year later, it grew to $1275 monthly.

A New Home

At this time, arrangements were made to have the newly-erected Hebrew Institute house all immigrant classes. A new era of supervision and control began. More than a thousand children were admitted to these new quarters during 1892. The change had a beneficent effect on the children; a decided improvement was noted in their demeanor, cleanliness and general appearance.

Pupils from the Hirsch classes who were admitted to the public schools made remarkable progress, especially in view of the fact that many of them worked part time, often from six to eight in the morning and from four to midnight. "There is no larking, no chattering, no trifling among these scholars, big or little," the New York World pointed out.

The number of these children who voluntarily enrolled in public schools kept increasing each year. This was, perhaps, an indication that the children not only were anxious to enter public school as soon as possible, but felt that in these classes they were segregating themselves from those who attended the public schools.

A Typical Member

What sort of child attended these classes in English? This description of an examination for admission of a Russian-Jewish lad may serve as an illustration:

"What is your name?"
"Isaac Copperschmidt."
"How old are you?"
"Eleven years."
"Where were you born?"
"Goverin (Grodno Gubernia)."
"What have you learned?"
"The Pentateuch with Rashi, the Prophets, The Psalms and Proverbs and Gemara."
"Which treatise of the Gemara have you learned?"
"Gittin."
"Which section?"
"Kol Hagget."
"I have no copy of the Gemara at hand else I would examine you."
"Nish Kosche! (No difficulty about that) I know it by heart."

And without awaiting the consent of the principal, the little man with the usual sing-song and indispensable movements of his right hand, animatedly begins to recite the Mishnah, interpolating all the questions, objections and contradictions raised by the Gemara.

Compared to the study of Bible and Talmud, the three R's

seemed a relaxation. To these young students of Talmudical civil law, inured to being driven by a severe taskmaster over the rugged road of Talmudical intricacies, learning under the guidance of a lady teacher must have appeared a pleasant walk over smooth pathways.

Probably duplicated among no other immigrant group in the city was the unique Melammdim Class. Here were men of all ages, learned in Hebrew, usually teachers of a "cheder", often able scholars. The type of studies they undertook were suitable to their intellectual maturity: in 1893, these were English Syntax and Rhetoric, English Composition, American History, Political History, History of American Institutions, DeTocqueville's Democracy in America, Bryce's American Commonwealth, the United States Constitution, Hamlet, standard American authors and translation of the Psalms.

The attempt to Americanize the "cheder" through the Melammdim Class eventually could not be carried out because of the small number of Hebrew teachers attending. Nevertheless, the class met the needs of this highly intelligent, alert and ambitious group of men who were anxious to absorb the culture of their new land. The history of the daily struggle for mere existence was written in these students' careworn faces, but they applied themselves to the study of the English language and literature with freshness and intensity.

By the opening of 1895, more than 4,500 children between the ages of five and sixteen had been admitted to the English classes. Of these, 2,775 had been sent to public schools and 1,275 had been discharged, but all of the latter had been admitted to public schools on their own volition. The evening school maintained its registration, the average attendance each year being 215 young women and about 285 men.

How Necessary Were These Classes?

Should the classes be continued? The question was raised by Mr. Schiff at a meeting early in 1895. With the monthly budget increased to $1,500, the Finance Committee considered a reduction of the appropriation. It was decided that the English classes could not be closed, as Mr. Solomons pointed out that there was not room enough in the public schools for all the Russian-Jewish children who did not understand English. Not only were they retained, but the appropriation of $1,500 per month was continued. This amount was larger than the appropriations for immigrant

technical training received by the Trade School. However, the grant was to be reduced each year.

The exclusion of English-speaking students did not seem to affect registration, for during the next few years it kept increasing. The average daily attendance was between 900 and 1,000 for both day and evening schools, until 1897, when it dropped to 775; by 1899 it was 640. At the end of the century, more than 5,500 children had been admitted to the public schools directly from the Baron de Hirsch classes. Since 1890, almost 8,000 pupils, both children and adults, had been registered.

In the evening school, where the stated purpose was "to instil American ideas and methods into the minds of the students as well as the rudiments of the language," the curriculum had become quite extended, including reading, writing, spelling, English grammar, composition, United States history, geography and civics.

Some Changes

The Melammdim group, which had enlarged its program to include subjects for preparation to college entrance, had definitely evolved into a college or regents preparatory school. Six classes, devoted to English literature, civics, economics, rhetoric, United States history and stenography, were conducted for both men and women.

The younger members of this class represented a new type of immigrant. To the newer families, the "cheder" was not as sacred as to their predecessors; they brought their children to the Hirsch classes (there was no need for urging as at the beginning) or to the congregational schools immediately upon landing. Many of these young Melammdim, who taught in these congregational schools, were eager to prepare for college. In 1896, out of the class of eighteen, eight were admitted to medical school, three to law school and four to other advanced institutions.

At a meeting of the Fund's Trustees early in 1899, the question of the final disposition of the English classes was revived. Mr. Solomons argued that the classes were indispensable. He pointed out that a great majority of the pupils had been in the country less than six months and none of them was eligible for entrance to the public schools. In fact, many of them had been sent to the Hirsch classes by the public school principals. Moreover, there was a demand for evening school instruction, as shown by the average attendance of 340 men and women, many of whom came directly from their shops without even stopping for a meal.

Transfer to Educational Alliance

President Isaacs and Vice-President Schiff of the Fund conferred with the officers of the Educational Alliance with a view to transferring the classes to the Alliance. An agreement was finally reached which involved the following conditions:

1. The Educational Alliance was to take over the English day classes for the training of immigrant children of Russian, Roumanian and Galician birth of less than two years' residence in the country.
2. There was to be in these classes a minimum daily average of 350 pupils.
3. In the evening classes, immigrants here less than two years were to be taught English, and some bread-winning trade such as bookkeeping and stenography. These classes were to have an average minimum daily attendance of 100.
4. The Fund was to appropriate for this work $1,000 a month, beginning in 1900.

From the point of view of the directors of the Educational Alliance, this was a notable endorsement of their work. Its annual report declared, "Their (the Fund's) having seen fit to turn over to us the educational branch of their trust is not only an evidence of confidence in our ability properly to safeguard it, but also an example to the public that in the eyes of these prudent and circumspect men the concentration of philanthropic activity is the guard against duplication and waste of funds, which is unavoidable when several associations endeavor to cover the same field."

That this change was satisfactory to the Fund is indicated by the annual budget, which continued to be a thousand dollars a month each year until 1910. Mr. Solomons was designated to represent the Fund in carrying out the plan. Miss Amelia F. Greenbaum, who had succeeded Mr. Schnabel as principal, was in turn followed by Miss Rebecca T. Hays in 1899. A careful study was made of the requirements of the classes, and steps were taken to secure more efficient administration by increasing the salaries of some of the instructors to enable them to devote their entire time to the work. Nature study and freehand drawing were added to the curriculum.

Applications for admission increased largely from the day that the Educational Alliance took over the classes, according to Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, Chairman of the Committee on Education for the Educational Alliance. Immigration was so large during that winter that it was necessary to refuse admission to many children. But by this time, the facilities of the evening public schools had increased so that they were able to accommodate all applicants from October to March. The need was to maintain sufficient classes at the Alliance during the spring and summer months.

Hence, one of the few criticisms that were made was the use of part of its appropriation for the "bread-winning" trades instead of for teaching the rudiments of English. This was satisfactorily adjusted.

Improvements in Organization

How closely the needs of the applicants were being studied may be seen from the fact that different types of adult classes in English for foreigners were now organized. There were separate classes for newly arrived foreigners who did not have the advantage of an education abroad; for newly arrived foreigners who had attended one or two terms of public night school; and for those who had been in the country for some time and desired to perfect themselves in English.

Considerable time was given to instruction in the history, customs and institutions of the United States. The success attending these efforts was of such an encouraging nature as to warrant the extension of this work for 1902, the idea being to attract adult immigrants unfamiliar with English who, for various reasons, were not reached by the public evening schools. Courses in literature, American history, modern English literature and medieval culture, which had been carried on the previous year, were dropped to make room for more needed courses in elementary English.

The following year, it was felt that "instruction in a foreign language, under new conditions and after a hard day's work, can very soon become mechanically intricate and finally distasteful." With this in mind, efforts were directed to promote social intercourse among the pupils. All the activities in the Educational Alliance for which the pupils were adapted—the reading room, the legal aid bureau, the free lectures—were explained to them and their participation was encouraged. The reading room, in point of fact, was often the first place reached by the immigrant, and it was through this room that many of the students in other departments were recruited.

In 1904, in order not to duplicate the work of the public evening schools it was decided that for the ensuing year the adult classes would remain open for the summer only, when the public schools were closed. This was intended to benefit those who could not avail themselves of the public evening schools, and those who had attended but desired supplementary instruction. A number of special classes were offered. Among them was a class in American industrial history, designed to show the evolution of industry through machinery. In the class in the history of American politics,

the aim was to give an impartial account of the principles and background of the party system and the efforts to put moral ideas into party platforms.

Evening classes now included English, stenography, bookkeeping, typewriting, telegraphy, neckwear, dressmaking, millinery and cooking. The four latter courses were given in the Industrial School for Girls. This school, divided into thirteen classes, had an average registry of 550. It was open to girls from nine to fourteen years old who had no knowledge of the rudiments of sewing. Two classes were provided for pupils who had advanced to the point where they could take up dressmaking. The stenography and typewriting classes in the school were of two months' duration, five sessions a week. On Wednesday evenings there were biographical lectures on famous Hebrew characters, and on Friday evenings there were lectures by the Reverend Hirsch Masliansky.

The work with the children was extended by the formation of special classes in gymnastics and drawing, and by special sewing classes for girl pupils. The children were drawn into the social work of the Educational Alliance by means of organized games arranged on week-day afternoons under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary. English was taught to the children not only from the text book, the blackboard and the chart, but also through the medium of song, stories of famous American patriots, informal social gatherings, organized games, art classes, sewing classes, cooking classes, pleasant sojourns of a week or so at the boys' summer camp or the girls' summer home, in bracing exercises in the gymnasium and other recreative activities.

More than 500 were registered in the day classes in 1900, and 270 at night. These numbers remained approximately the same for the next five years.

Program Revisions

Changes in the Compulsory Education Law and the adoption of new child labor laws caused a revision in the program of the Educational Alliance classes in 1904. The new law provided that no child under fourteen years be permitted to work unless, subsequent to its 13th birthday, he had attended school for at least 130 days and was reasonably proficient in the three R's and in geography and American history. Enactment of this law affected thousands of immigrant children who had heretofore not been trammeled by such restrictions qualifying their fitness for wage earning.

As soon as practicable, the Alliance put the necessary changes

into effect. Preference for admission was given to children over the age of twelve, and particularly to those nearer to sixteen, and the curriculum was modified to meet the requirements of the new laws. Younger applicants were referred to public schools, where their education could be pursued with equal facility because of the more liberal allowance of time necessarily left at the disposal of children of their age.

The following year, the school day was lengthened to conform to the school day of the Board of Education, and efforts were concentrated upon the preparation of the older immigrant children for their working papers. These children were promoted from class to class within the Baron de Hirsch school instead of being sent to the public school as soon as they were able to understand English. By 1906, it was evident that the new plan led to greater progress. Children remained in the school for two or more terms, and were able to advance more rapidly because they were somewhat older than those who had attended the school in past years. Almost a hundred boys and girls were enabled to secure working papers, and more than 200 boys and girls were entered into the higher grades of the public schools, during that year.

Adult Immigrant Work

The school as a whole made continuous progress, in attendance and activities. Administratively, the school had two divisions: The Baron de Hirsch School for Immigrant Children, and the Baron de Hirsch School for Adult Immigrants, the latter under the direction of Dr. Paul Abelson.

The adult department consisted of evening classes in English and civics, lectures on American history and civics in English and Yiddish, and "Collections of Data on American Conditions of Interest to Immigrants." It also cooperated with the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Jewish Agricultural Society and the Industrial Removal Office in an exhibition of Jewish farm life. This exhibition was highly successful, and led later to the organization of the previously mentioned Information Bureau at the Educational Alliance, sponsored by the Industrial Removal Office.

In 1905, the average daily attendance was 435 children and 275 adults. Within two years, the trend had changed so that the average daily attendance was 475 children and 700 adults. From only nine classes in English for adult immigrants in 1905, there were twenty-three in 1907, nineteen for men and four for women. By 1909, the number admitted to the evening school during the year had risen to 2,340, and to 1,075 in the day English classes.

The type of pupil attending the Alliance classes may be illustrated by a study made of the classes of 1905-1906. Of the children, more than 500 were from ten to fourteen years old; 300 were fourteen to sixteen years old; and ninety were sixteen years of age and over. As to their nationalities, 860 were Russian, fifteen were Roumanian and thirty-five were Austro-Galician. About half the children had been in the country less than one month; 400 had been here from one to six months, while fewer than 100 had been here more than six months.

Of the adults, sixty had been in the country one year or more, while 1,270 had been here less than a year. The adults numbered 1,150 Russians, forty-three Roumanians, thirty-five Austro-Hungarians, and fifty-five from other countries.

Review of the Situation

With the formation in 1910 of a committee on immigrant aid and education by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the work at the Educational Alliance was strongly affected. Mr. Kohler was head of this new committee. A general review of the policies involved in the subsidization of the various activities and of the work of the subsidized societies had been suggested by President Benjamin at the annual meeting of the Trustees. On motion of Mr. Kohler it was decided to grant the regular appropriation of $12,000 subject to the recommendations of a joint committee of the Alliance and the Fund which was to review the situation. This joint committee, which was composed of Louis Marshall, Julia Richman and Mr. Simson Wolf, representing the Educational Alliance and Messrs. Kohler and Elkus representing the Fund, adopted these resolutions:

1. In view of the recent adoption by the Board of Education of the policy of giving instruction to immigrant children in special classes, the Hirsch English classes shall be discontinued on September 1st, or as soon as the school authorities take over the work.
2. As the Board of Education is not legally able to maintain day classes for adults, the Fund will continue to subsidize two day classes for adults at the rate of $750 per annum each.
3. As soon as the city authorities agree to take over the evening classes during the summer months, these classes shall be discontinued.
4. Should the city take the work over, $2,000 shall be granted until further notice by the Fund to the Educational Alliance in view of the excellent work in the direction of the Americanization of Russian and Roumanian Jewish immigrants.

Soon after this conference of the joint committee, the Board of Education opened summer evening classes for immigrants, and

the Baron de Hirsch classes for adults were not resumed. The Fund's appropriation to the Educational Alliance was reduced accordingly in 1910 to $8,990. In later years it was to be $3,500 annually. The following year, the Baron de Hirsch School was offering to adult immigrants the only opportunity in the city for the study in the day time of the English language. There were four classes, and admission was limited to those were were prevented from enrolling in the public evening schools. Among them were teachers of Hebrew and religion whose hours of occupation were generally from four to eight or nine o'clock in the evening, night watchmen, theatre employees, etc. Of unusual interest was the attendance at these day classes of mothers who could attend Hirsch classes only during those hours in which their children were at school.

Classes for Mothers

How these classes in English for mothers were formed in 1910 is related by Miss Sarah Elkus, then a director of the Educational Alliance and today the head of the Board of Education's Day Classes for Adult Immigrants:

"At the graduation exercises of the Alliance, a mother in the audience broke into tears when a little girl finished her valedictory speech. I asked the woman, later, why she had wept. She told me her story. About twenty years before, the woman had come to this country and settled on the East Side, where even the signs were printed in Yiddish, and English was heard so little as to seem a foreign tongue. One day, the eldest child brought her report card to be signed. The mother made her mark, a crude cross, and the child who had learned to read and write, could not conceal her scorn. English came to be the language of the home, and more and more the mother felt a sense of her inadequacy. She could not understand what they were talking about a good deal of the time. Now, her eldest daughter was graduating from the Alliance School and had been given the honor of making a speech which the audience applauded, but which the mother could not understand at all. I asked her, "Could you not learn English?" But her home duties obviously prevented her from attending the regular evening classes. The plight of this immigrant mother brought to my attention the great need for classes in English during the day, and I invited this woman to come, and bring a few friends to the Educational Alliance. From this beginning, grew the Day Classes for Adult Immigrants."

Mothers' meetings were also carried on by other departments.

Talks in Yiddish and English were given on subjects such as "The Responsibility of Immigrant Parents to their Children," "The Children and the Streets," etc. These meetings were meant to grapple with the problems arising from the rapid Americanization of the children. The next year, immigrant work at the Alliance also included courses in domestic art and science for girls and women, lectures on civics and industrial opportunities, a vocational school for girls, a reading room and a special study room for immigrant children.

At this period, the activities of the Educational Alliance to which the Fund's appropriation was applied, could be divided into two classes—educational and social. Under education there were the day classes in English for adult immigrants, lectures in Yiddish and English for adult immigrants, classes in citizenship and citizenship quiz classes. On the social side, there were children's entertainments, Sunday evening concerts, social gatherings for young women, a reading-room and library social room and club-room. The classes in English were for the benefit of those employed at night. That there was much room for work in citizenship, the East Side census of 1890 had clearly revealed. This also explains the emphasis on the teaching of civics, American history and similar subjects both in the children's classes and in work with adults. However, there was a good deal less propaganda necessary for making the immigrant Jews citizens, since they were alive to the importance of becoming citizens as early as possible.

Mr. B. A. Palitz, General Agent of the Fund, criticized the administration of the Alliance work. He believed that more emphasis should be applied to the teaching of English. "While the social activities, lectures and citizenship classes are undoubtedly important, the study of the language should be the first thing to engage the attention of the newcomer and it seems to me that a suggestion of having the English classes increased would not be amiss. This is especially important when we consider that there is no other place outside of the Educational Alliance which offers during the day instruction to adult immigrants free of charge." This pioneering work of the Fund did not end, however, until 1916, when the Day Classes for Adult Immigrants were incorporated into the educational system of the City of New York.

Budgetary Problems

The annual grant was again $3,500, but the Budget Committee recommended that it be reduced to $2,500 in 1915, and that the reduction of $1,000 be continued each year until it would cease

entirely. But that year the financial situation for social agencies was so bad that this was not put into effect. Instead, in 1916, the grant was reduced to $3,000 and in 1917 to $2,500. But in January 1917, on a motion by Mr. Schiff, the Trustees decided to discontinue the appropriations to the Educational Alliance after that year. This withdrawal of support was due partly to the formation of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York, and partly to the fact that the city had taken over all the classes for immigrants—both for adults and children.

Few of the activities of the Baron de Hirsch Fund received the spontaneous reception in the press that was accorded the pioneer Americanization classes. "Human interest" news items dotted the newspaper columns at regular intervals during the entire period of its existence. Headlines in the New York Times, World, Sun and other metropolitan papers read: "A Lesson in Patriotism," "Entertainment by Children of the Hirsch Fund Classes," "Learn English Very Rapidly," "Will Make Citizens," "700 Took the Oath —Little Children Swear Allegiance to America," "Budding Young Patriots," "Taught to Love the Flag," "Day for Children—Police Commissioner at Educational Alliance," "500 New Americans."

Paving the way for the Immigrant Education Department of the Board of Education, the Baron de Hirsch classes demonstrated the numerous advantages of segregating immigrant children, in the early period of their arrival, instead of placing them with native younger children. Practically all of the courses of study and methods used in the Hirsch classes were taken over by the Board of Education. From the small beginnings of the Baron de Hirsch Fund English classes on the East Side, New York City today conducts 230 classes for 9,000 foreign-born pupils during the day, and 335 classes in English and Citizenship for almost 20,000 foreign-born adults in the evening. Two-thirds of the foreigners in the day classes are Jewish. At the Educational Alliance, the city conducts five classes for adults in English and Citizenship.

Part 2.—The Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn

The only educational settlement work originally organized and developed by the Baron de Hirsch Fund was the Hebrew Educational Society in Brooklyn, which received support for nearly a quarter of a century. This agency for Americanization began by proudly calling itself the "younger sister" of the Educational Alliance in New York and since its creation it has, in many vital

respects, duplicated the effective efforts of the East Side institution.

Back in the late Eighties, when the oppressed Jewish exiles swarmed here from Russia, a thin stream of the immigrants began to filter through to a part of Brooklyn known as Brownsville, lying between Rockway and Snediker Avenues, and Liberty Avenue and Canarsie Woods. Manhattan's populous East Side was already teeming and much of the overflow came to Brooklyn in order to take advantage of the cheap rents, and to cut down the cost of living. By the Nineties three thousand Jewish families, or fifteen thousand people, had settled in the section, the great majority from Russia and Poland. For the most part the people were tailors and they and their families were given work by New York clothing manufacturers.

The general situation was, in many ways, worse than that on the East Side. Sanitary and transit facilities were exceedingly bad; streets and sidewalks were unpaved and many even ungraded. Most of the houses were without sewers or decent drains. There was only one public bathhouse—for men only—and on Friday and Saturday nights it was jammed. The streets in wet weather were simply swamps. No alderman or politician with a "pull" lived in the section, and consequently the streets were ignored by the Street Cleaning Department as well as the Department of Public Works. As the New York Sun observed, ". . . though a man may own a dozen lots and have two or three thousand dollars in the bank, he dispenses with carpets—the mud of Brownsville would spoil a rug or carpet in a month."

In view of the lamentable conditions it was felt that the Jewish community of Brooklyn must do something to improve the state of affairs in Brownsville. Consequently, a group of Brooklyn Jews interested in communal affairs, led by Mr. Abraham Abraham, a Trustee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, met early in 1899 for the purpose of establishing educational activities in Brownsville under the auspices of the Fund. Mr. A. S. Solomons, the General Agent of the Fund, who was present at the meeting, held that it would be necessary to establish in Brownsville an organization similar to the Educational Alliance of New York in order to accomplish the educational, social and moral ends sought. A temporary organization was created and a Committee on Plan and Scope was appointed by Mr. Abraham and Mr. Solomons, who were delegated by the Trustees of the Fund to assume charge of the matter. This committee included S. F. Rothschild, chairman, B. Schmidt,

Rev. Dr. Leon M. Nelson, Mitchell May, Michael Furst and Dr. M. A. Cohn.

The Baron de Hirsch Fund had previously made a tentative start, in a modest way, in this direction by the establishment of two small evening classes in English, and by provision of accommodations for two or three clubs for boys. This was carried on in a small house in Osborn Street which bore the name of Baron de Hirsch Hall.

Recommendations of the Committee on Plan and Scope, submitted to the Fund in June, 1899, called for larger and more suitable quarters to be provided by and carried on under the patronage of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Facilities were to include a library, reading room and gymnasium, and among the activities proposed were clubs, public lectures, and social gatherings for adults as well as for the youth. The evening classes in English were to be continued, and the kindergarten, which had been under the direction of the Council of Jewish Women in Brooklyn and was supported partly by the Fund, was to be invited to hold its sessions in the building. It was planned to establish a branch office of the Fund in the building to aid in its agricultural, industrial and "homes" work. Finally, efforts were to be made to have the streets of Brownsville paved and swept regularly and the sanitary condition of the section improved by the city authorities.

The Trustees of the Fund decided that if Mr. Abraham's committee would undertake to carry out the proposed scheme, they would appropriate $2,500 for fitting up the building and $400 a month toward running expenses. Plans for the new organization proceeded rapidly.

In the spring of 1900 the new home of the Hebrew Educational Society, as it was finally named, was erected at the corner of Eastern Parkway and Watkins Street. S. F. Rothschild, subsequently a Trustee of the Fund, was president of the Society; Michael Furst, vice-president; M. J. Harris, treasurer and N. H. Levi, secretary.

At last the Jews of Brownsville had a social and cultural center, "a place to turn to in order to gain relaxation from their daily toil." From the beginning, the activities proved popular. In the kindergartens, for example, there were in the first year enough teachers for only eighty children. Two days after the lists were opened, two hundred children had been enrolled as desiring admission to the kindergarten. The kindergarten work, which had been opened with the cooperation of the Council of Jewish Women, was subsequently taken over by the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Society.

Each day, an average of four hundred people took advantage of the activities of the Society. There were classes in English, eighteen clubs, lectures in American history and Jewish history. Later the activities expanded and began to include a sewing school, a piano class, a Hebrew School, and a Penny Provident Fund similar to the one at the Educational Alliance. The Brooklyn Board of Education took an immediate interest in the Society's work and provided a course of twenty-five lectures on general topics during the winter.

By 1905, Dr. Milton Reizenstein, the superintendent, was remarking that "like the Educational Alliance in New York, the Hebrew Educational Society in Brooklyn seems to be the great Americanizing factor there." In that year, over 330,000 visitors came to its building. No other Brownsville institution did work of a similar type.

With the progress of years, especially under the directorship of Dr. Charles S. Bernheimer (1910-1919), new activities were added. There were farm gardens, a milk station, a baby clinic, tuberculosis exhibits, religious services, the installation of a branch of the Brooklyn public library and classes in hygiene and elocution. Evidently, the Society was not content merely to copy the types of endeavor which the Educational Alliance was instituting. Beginning in 1906, there were inaugurated industrial activities—as distinct from educational work—which consisted of manual training, dressmaking, sewing, millinery, housekeeping and farm gardening. Entertainments and social work included dramatics, lectures and picnics. Attendance to its various classes had expanded nearly tenfold in seven years, from over 22,600 to about 200,000 annually.

With a tenfold population increase in a decade, the Hebrew Educational Society stimulated the development of the public evening school system in Brownsville to such a degree that there were five schools now open for evening instruction. One of the schools was opened during the summer as a public night school, the Society having entirely discontinued its own classes in English for foreigners. However, it built up, instead, a citizenship class and bureau. One of the newer activities was the organization of vocational guidance clubs in an endeavor to counteract the pernicious influences of the public dance halls. By 1914, the Society housed sixteen Sabbath School classes, forty-five clubs, four Hebrew classes, classes in dressmaking, sewing and cooking, a recreation center, the Penny Provident Fund and other activities.

As the original quarters of the Society proved inadequate for its spreading efforts, a larger building was erected which included

an auditorium with a capacity of 500, a gymnasium, roof gardens, reading room for adults, study and game rooms and fourteen club and class rooms.

Until 1912, the Fund's subsidy to the Society had remained at $4,800 a year, but thereafter it was decreased to $4,200 until 1917. Beginning in 1918, the appropriation was annually reduced $600 until it finally ceased altogether in 1924. The membership of the Society had been growing year by year until it became self-supporting.

Today the Hebrew Educational Society is still the only distinctively Jewish social center in Brownsville.

Part 3.—Subsidized Societies

Educational and settlement activities in this city and in other cities of the United States were supported through financial aid by the Fund. These may be briefly described.

In New York City, there were in existence several small settlements or societies which met the social and recreational needs of the immigrant children and the adolescent youth. Among those aided in the earlier years by the Fund with annual subsidies were the Chrystie Street Settlement House, the New Era Club, the Downtown Ethical Society, and, latterly, the German-Jewish Center.

Chrystie Street Settlement

Like other East Side settlements, the Chrystie Street Settlement House met the needs of the youth of its immediate neighborhood. There were maintained the characteristic activities to be found in settlements, such as playgrounds for the children, a gymnasium for the boys and girls' sewing classes, mothers' clubs, a kindergarten later taken over by the Board of Education, singing societies, clubs for boys and girls, a library, and classes in religion and domestic science. The Baron de Hirsch Fund made appropriations to the Settlement from 1900 to 1913.

Downtown Ethical Society

Similarly the Downtown Ethical Society, (a branch of the Society for Ethical Culture), was subsidized by small annual sums from 1900 to 1910. Its leader was Dr. Henry Moskowitz. Here special emphasis was put on ethical problems. Features that were relatively new on the East Side were a Child Study Circle, which centered its attention on practical methods of rearing children. To

encourage thrift, a bank had been established mainly for the junior group.

New Era Club

Wholesome recreation after working hours for the older youth was a crying need. As the average settlement did not attract the more Americanized immigrant young men whose intellectual qualifications were perhaps not of the highest, a New Era Club was organized in 1900 to reach this class through entertainments, dancing classes, an orchestra, billiard rooms, lectures and addresses on public questions. Mr. Louis S. Posner, member of the Board of Education of New York City, and Dr. A. L. Wolbarst were the founders of this worthwhile organization, which is still carrying on its good work. Mr. Posner has been its president for twenty-seven consecutive years. From the year of its founding until 1908, the Fund subsidized the New Era Club to the extent of over $4,000.

The "Kehillah"

As a central organization in New York to create a Jewish public opinion, the "Kehillah" was established in 1909. Its avowed purpose was to represent the Jews of this city with respect to all local matters of Jewish interest. The problem of religious education and of social and philanthropic work received particular attention. In order to standardize methods of Jewish education and to find means of providing Jewish training for all Jewish children of school age in New York City, the Bureau of Education was formed. The Baron de Hirsch Fund granted $3,500 to the Jewish Education Bureau in 1912 to "furnish Jewish and moral instruction to Jewish children of school age."

German Jewish Center

The recently organized German Jewish Center has been subsidized by the Fund for its good work among the many German Jewish immigrants who have arrived since the War. These are non-Yiddish speaking and consequently cannot be reached by the social agencies and facilities available to the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia

The Fund's Americanization work in Philadelphia was carried on by the Hebrew Education Society which, beside its Trade School, offered courses in English from the early Nineties on.

These classes were from the kindergarten to the higher grammar grades. Fives classes in English were conducted from 1894 to 1896 and during the following four years instruction was offered in reading, spelling, grammar, composition, history, geography, and the United States Constitution. A night school was also maintained for many years.

Baltimore Classes

Under the auspices of the Hebrew Literary Society and with Miss Henrietta Szold as superintendent, the Fund's Baltimore Committee supported classes in English for immigrants beginning in 1890. The Committee rented a house and purchased furniture for the Russian Society, which was practically a night school in English. At the first winter term of the Literary Society school, there was an enrollment of 500. In addition to the English classes, the building was used for a free library, trade classes, lectures to immigrants, the Frank Free Sabbath School, and as a meeting place for the Jewish population of that part of Baltimore. In two years, the enrollment in English classes had doubled. The pupils consisted of four classes: adults with a fairly good education in their native tongue who merely lacked a command of English; adults who could read no language whatsoever; half-grown boys and girls who at some time or other had attended school; and young children who had never been to school.

When public night schools were opened, it was possible to limit the registration to immigrants who had not had any public day school training in this country. By 1894, there were eight classes devoted exclusively to the study of English and the total number of pupils registered had risen to 900. From time to time the Baltimore Committee of the Fund appropriated small sums for the evening classes. This work was finally turned over to the Hebrew Benevolent Society. Classes were undertaken in citizenship and naturalization for adult men, port work for immigrants and a summer night school in English for immigrants were added. When the Educational Alliance building was opened in 1913, ten evening classes for immigrants were maintained with a weekly attendance of 460. Subsidization of this work ended in 1919.

Work in Boston

From 1894 to 1898, the Fund assisted in the maintenance of English classes in Boston. Later, when the Boston Committee became the Boston Branch of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, it conducted several classes in English. The superintendent of the Russian Hebrew Industrial School, which was subsidized by the Fund, formed several societies which offered educational opportunities to immigrants, particularly the teaching of English to adults and children. Support of the Industrial School continued to 1918.

Work in Chicago

Americanization work at Chicago, which was aided materially by the Fund, was conducted chiefly at the Jewish Training School, which was opened in 1890. When the Fund subsidized the latter institution in 1891, the Training School was teaching English and its branches to an average of twenty-five persons daily. A night school for adults had been organized. The School closed in 1920, since the courses it offered became available in the public schools.

Educational Work in St. Louis

There were approximately 15,000 Jews in St. Louis in the late Nineties. Facilities to carry on educational work among them were not afforded in any of the existing institutions in the city. The public schools, as in New York, would not admit children before they acquired some fluency in the English language; the evening schools, aside from the fact that they held sessions during a few winter months only, were by law prohibited from admitting pupils under fourteen and over twenty-one years of age.

The Baron de Hirsch Fund evidenced interest in the Hebrew Free & Industrial School Society in 1890, but not until 1897 did the Fund contribute toward the English classes. The Jewish Alliance was selected as its medium, and in that year the city's Board of Education granted the free use of one of its largest school buildings in the Jewish section to the Alliance. Educational work started with an enrollment of 400 men, women and children. Continuing its subsidy each year, the Fund appropriated $2.50 per capita per annum for Jewish pupils in the Alliance's classes. Instruction ranged from the very elementary, for those who had recently migrated, to English composition and American history. Later there were classes in cooking, a manual training school and sewing classes.

By 1906, the Jewish Alliance was composed of: a Night School for teaching English to foreigners, which had a daily attendance of 300 men and women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five; the Hebrew Free and Industrial School; a day nursery for children whose mothers were obliged to work; a kindergarten; a technical school; and a social and club department, which consisted of over sixty clubs and advanced classes. Lectures, concerts, a

library, game room, gymnasium and baths were among the other activities. Enrollment in all the educational activities totaled seventeen hundred in the sixty-three classes. However, in 1910, it was ascertained that the social and educational work was being handicapped through neighborhood changes, the Jewish population being replaced by other nationalities. Nevertheless, the Alliance maintained classes in advanced English, naturalization, domestic economy, and entertainment and recreation activities. A year before, the classes in English had been taken over by the Board of Education and the work of the institution became confined to clubs and social work.

In 1914, the Baron de Hirsch Fund withdrew its support when it was seen that the only activity towards which its appropriation could have been applied—the night school for immigrants conducted during summer months—was supported by the United Jewish Charitable and Educational Association of St. Louis. The Fund had subsidized the Americanization work from 1897 to 1913, for sums ranging from $500 to $1,250 annually.

Pittsburgh

In Pittsburgh, the Columbian Council School, which later became the Irene Kaufman Settlement, maintained Americanization work, which was partly subsidized by the Fund. In addition to industrial activities, there were lectures, classes in English, ethics and dancing, mothers' meetings, an Improvement Club, free baths, Bible classes, a gymnasium, a bank, labor bureau, playground, medical aid, legal aid, a reading room and facilities similar to those in better settlement houses. Enrollment in the English classes was about 275 each year. The great majority of those in attendance at the activities were Russians. The total number of people who came to the Columbian Council School each year averaged about 30,000. The Fund aided the School from 1900 to 1913.

APPENDIX A

MY VIEWS ON PHILANTHROPY*

By Baron de Hirsch

I have followed with lively interest the series of articles on the "Obligations of Wealth," which have appeared in the well known *North American Review*, and although I am more a man of deeds than of word or pen, I am quite ready to answer, as far as practicable, the question asked me as to "what motives have led me into my philanthropic work?"

Do not expect me to enter into a theoretical discussion similar to those carried on by the able men who have developed in these pages a philosophical system regarding the duty of the possessor of riches; but allow me to set forth in a few words the practical method I have determined upon for carrying out my philanthropic ideas.

In regard to this there is, in my opinion, no possibility for doubt that the possession of great wealth lays a duty upon the possessor. It is my inmost conviction that I must consider myself as only the temporary administrator of the wealth I have amassed, and that it is my duty to contribute in my own way to the relief of the suffering of those who are hard pressed by fate. I contend most decidedly against the old system of alms-giving, which only makes so many more beggars; and I consider it the greatest problem in philanthropy to make human beings who are capable of work out of individuals who otherwise must become paupers, and in this way create useful members of society.

Philanthropy in its proper sense has, no doubt, a higher purpose, and can find its best field for action in the creation of free libraries, green parks, beautiful churches, etc. This is Mr. Carnegie's idea, which he has practically demonstrated again and again. Certainly these are ideal objects, which tend to bring about universal happiness, and lucky are they who live in lands where the absolute necessaries of life are so well supplied that, I might almost say, one sees that the obligation of riches and the purposes of philanthropy are fulfilled in supplying the necessary aesthetic pleasures. In relieving human suffering I never ask whether the cry of necessity comes from a being who belongs to my own faith or not; but what is more natural than that I should find my highest purpose in bringing to the followers of Judaism, who have been oppressed for a thousand years, who are starving in misery, the possibility of a physical and moral regeneration?—than that I should try to free them, to build them up into capable citizens, and thus furnish humanity with much new and valuable material? Every page in the history of the Jews teaches us that in thinking this I am following no Utopian theory, and I am confident that such a result can be obtained.

For it does not matter how low the disciples of the faith may have fallen, nor how crushed they may seem to be; it only needs a single breath of freedom to bring honor and stimulus to the country to which they belong. The middle

* *North American Review*, No. 416, July 1891.

ages and modern times alike prove this. It is not necessary for me to cite examples, since the famous men who have raised themselves out of the Jewish race are well enough known, and since it cannot be the object of these lines to sing the praises of the Jews or the high spiritual qualities of their people. I will therefore keep myself to the question that has been put to me to answer—What results are to follow from my philanthropic labors?

What I desire to accomplish, what, after many failures, has come to be the object of my life, and that for which I am ready to stake my wealth and my intellectual powers, is to give to a portion of my companions in faith the possibility of finding a new existence, primarily as farmers, and also as handicraftsmen, in those lands where the laws and religious tolerance permit them to carry on the struggle for existence as noble and responsible subjects of a humane government.

It has become a maxim and a typical reproach against the Jews that they have no inclination for agriculture or manual labor. That is an error which is contradicted not only by modern examples, but by history. The Israelites in the time of Christ were agriculturalists par excellence, while trade, which, judging from the practice of the Jews of today, should be the inheritance of Israel, lay then entirely in the hands of the Phoenicians, the Greeks and the people of the Mediterranean states. The Jews, as long as they were politically independent, cared for their fields, as I have said. They drove their herds, and were handicraftsmen. The tendency towards work in the fields and in the shop existed, therefore, and my own observations and those of others have proved that it is quite possible to reawaken in the race this capacity and love for agriculture, and to bring it into existence again. Of his own power, therefore, the poor Jew, who until now has been hated as an outcast, will win for himself peace and independence, love for the ground he tills and for freedom; and he will become a patriotic citizen of his new home.

Guided by these convictions, my course for philanthropic work was clearly shown me. By establishing organizations in the Orient and in Galicia I wished to give the Jews who had remained in the faith the opportunity of becoming good farmers and craftsmen, without removing them from the land upon which they were settled, and agricultural schools and schools for manual training were to supply the means for teaching them.

It is necessary, however, to adopt some other method for aiding those Jews who are driven from their country, and are obliged to seek new homes across the ocean. And it is at present, therefore, my greatest desire to accomplish a work on a much more important scale, and of quite a different character from any adopted up to the present time—a purpose which, it may be reasonably hoped, will bring about the results already mentioned. The question is, then, to help the Russian Jews who have just been exiled from their homes to find new countries where they can use their powers freely, where they can bring into practice again the qualities they have inherited from their ancestors, and, finally, where they can become useful citizens of a free and secure country in which the rights of all inhabitants are equal.

In considering this plan, I naturally thought of the United States, where the liberal constitution is a guarantee of happy development for the followers of all religious faiths. Yet I was obliged to confess that to increase to any great extent the already enormous number of Jews in the United States would be of advantage neither to the country itself nor to the exiled Jews; for it is my firm conviction that this new settlement should be scattered through different

lands and spread over a large space, so that there shall be no opportunity for social or religious rupture. I made a study, therefore, of different countries, and after careful examination I have become convinced that the Argentine Republic, Canada and Australia, above all others, offer the surest guarantee for the accomplishment of the plan. I expect to begin with the Argentine Republic, and arrangements for the purchase of certain lands for the settlement are now being made.

I do not undertake the execution of so weighty a work without much preparatory study as to whether the Jewish race has or has not an inclination towards agriculture. The following example will go far to silence any doubt in this direction and to prove the capacity of the Jews for farming and colonization.

Some years ago several hundred Jewish families were exiled from Russia to the Argentine. In spite of untold suffering, in spite of the greatest hindrances which they encountered, they succeeded in taking root in their new homes. These same families, which a few years ago, bending under heavy burdens, appeared to be only wandering trades-people in Russia, have now become thrifty farmers, who with plow and hoe know how to farm as well as if they had never done anything else. They lay out their farms in the best manner, and build themselves such pretty little houses that everyone in the vicinity employs them as carpenters in house building.

The knowledge of this guides me in my work, and I am now setting out with all my strength to accomplish it.

This is, in a few words, the idea which reaches me in my philanthropic work—the motive that lies at the bottom of the plan. The working of a huge cosmopolitan scheme would scatter my strength broadcast. If I devote myself, however, to this one work, I can perhaps bring it to eventual accomplishment. And all through the matter I have the certainty that he who frees thousands of his fellow men from suffering and an oppressed existence and helps them to become useful citizens, does a good work for all humanity.

APPENDIX B

DEED OF TRUST OF BARON DE HIRSCH FUND

Whereas, I, the *Baron Maurice de Hirsch,* now residing in Paris, France, have observed with painful interest the suffering and destitution of the Hebrews dwelling in Russia and Roumania, where they are oppressed by severe laws and unfriendly neighbors; and have determined to contribute to the relief of such of my brethren in race, who have emigrated or shall emigrate from these inhospitable countries to the Republic of the United States of America, and

Whereas, I have requested Myer S. Isaacs, Jesse Seligman, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Julius Goldman, of the City of New York, and Mayer Sulzberger and William B. Hackenburg, of the City of Philadelphia, to act as Trustees of the Fund which I have determined to apply to the purposes herein specified, and they have for themselves and their successors accepted such Trust:

Now, in consideration of the premises, and of *one dollar* to me paid by the said Myer S. Isaacs, Jesse Seligman, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Julius Goldman, Mayer Sulzberger and William B. Hackenburg and their willingness and consent to act as such Trustees, I *do hereby give, grant, assign* and *transfer* to the said Myer S. Isaacs, Jesse Seligman, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Julius Goldman, Mayer Sulzberger and William B. Hackenburg and their successors the amount of *two million four hundred thousand dollars,* lawful money of the United States of America.

To have and to hold the said sum unto the said Myer S. Isaacs, Jesse Seligman, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Julius Goldman, Mayer Sulzberger and William B. Hackenburg and their successors upon the trusts hereinafter declared.

First: The sum of two hundred and forty thousand dollars, or so much of the said sum as the Trustees or their successors shall from time to time find necessary and shall appropriate for that purpose, shall be held by the said Trustees and their successors and paid over by them to a Corporation or Corporations to be created under their direction and during the lifetime of the first two Trustees named herein, or the survivor, and of which the said Trustees or their nominees shall be Trustees, for the purpose of acquiring and improving land, allotting farm holdings, and erecting and maintaining buildings and dwellings for the occupancy and use of such number of families of Hebrew emigrants from Russia and Roumania as they shall select, with power to allot and set apart such holdings on such terms as shall be deemed expedient, and to lease such dwellings, buildings and lands to occupants so selected, and to erect and maintain workshops, schools and other necessary buildings for the benefit of such settlers and for the promotion of education and for manual and agricultural training; and until such Corporation shall be duly organized in conformity with the provisions of this instrument, the income of such fund shall be held and expended by said Trustees or their successors for the relief and education

of such emigrants as shall be selected by a majority of such Trustees or their successors.

Second: I direct such Trustees to organize forthwith during the lifetime of the two Trustees first named herein, or the survivor, and under the laws of such State or States in the United States as they shall determine, a Corporation or Corporations capable in law of performing the work and executing all or any of the purposes of this Trust as hereinafter declared, and which may not be included within the work and purposes set forth in the first article hereof, and that upon such Corporation or Corporations being duly organized the said Trustees shall pay over to said Corporation or Corporations so much of the residue of said capital sum of two million four hundred thousand dollars as they shall from time to time appropriate and meanwhile shall invest the said capital and apply the income to the uses and purposes hereinafter prescribed.

Third: I give and grant such capital sum of two million four hundred thousand dollars except so much thereof as is set apart under the first article hereof to the said Trustees and their successors upon the further trust that the Corporation or Corporations to be organized as aforesaid shall declare and maintain for their objects all or any of the purposes hereinafter stated, and primarily the education and relief of Hebrew emigrants from Europe, chiefly from Russia and Roumania, and the education and relief of the children of such emigrants, provided that the capital so appropriated be invested as prescribed in this instrument and the like provision be inserted in the by-laws of said Corporation or Corporations and that the income of the said fund shall be devoted to the said objects and purposes.

Fourth: The objects and purposes of such Corporations created pursuant to the second article hereof, shall be declared in their respective charters and by-laws, shall be in conformity with the directions of this instrument and shall embrace all or any of the following:

1. Loans to emigrants from Russia or Roumania, actual agriculturists, settlers within the United States, upon real or chattel security.

2. Provision for the transportation of emigrants selected (after their arrival at an American port) with reference to their age, character and capacity, to places where it is expected the conditions of the labor market or the residence of friends will tend to make them self-supporting.

3. Provision for training emigrants in a handicraft and contributing to their support while learning such handicraft, and for furnishing the necessary tools and implements, and other assistance to enable them to earn a livelihood.

4. Provision for improved mechanical training for adults and youths—emigrants and their children—whereby persons of industry and capacity may acquire some remunerative employment, either by the payment of apprenticeship, or tuition fees, or the instruction of adults and minors in trade schools or otherwise, with contributions for temporary support.

5. Provision for instruction in the English language and in the duties and obligations of life and citizenship in the United States, and for technical and trade education, and the establishment and subvention of special schools, workshops and other suitable agencies for promoting and maintaining such instruction.

6. Provision for instruction in agricultural work and improved methods of farming and for aiding settlers with tools and implements, and the practical supervision of such instruction, conducted upon suitable tracts of land and in necessary buildings.

7. Co-operation with established agencies in various sections of the United States, whose duty it shall be in whole or in part to furnish aid or relief, and education to needy and deserving applicants coming within the classes designated herein.

8. Contributions towards the maintenance of individuals and families, selected by such Corporation or Corporations, while temporarily awaiting work, or when settled in the new homes in which they may be established.

9. Such other and further modes of relief and such other and further contributions to education and in such departments of knowledge as the said Trustees or their successors or said Corporations shall from time to time decide.

Fifth: It is my express direction to the Trustees and their successors herein named that they shall appoint and regulate at such places within the United States, as they shall deem advisable, Agents or Committees whose duty it shall be to co-operate with the Trustees and their successors in the selection of persons, coming within the classes hereinbefore declared, for relief from the fund; and in the details of local provision for work, education and maintenance.

And I desire to leave to the Trustees and their successors the formal details of administration; and, I empower them to make the necessary provisions for the expense of maintaining these Trusts, relying upon them to choose competent and faithful agents, and to exercise vigilant supervision in all departments.

And in the event of the death or resignation of any of said Trustees or their successors, and as often as such event shall occur, I *hereby authorize and empower* the remaining Trustees or their successors by a vote of the majority of the Trustees for the time being to fill the vacancy occasioned by such death or resignation.

It is understood that the Trustees and their successors render their services gratuitously; and I expressly stipulate that they shall not be held personally responsible for their acts as such Trustees.

Sixth: It is my especial desire that the Trustees and their successors shall not be precluded from receiving additional contributions from any source to the fund I have hereby created, or from distributing such additional contributions among the Corporations and Agencies that shall be organized or selected to carry out the purposes of this Trust.

And it is my desire that in the event of the cessation or substantial reduction of emigration from Russia or Roumania, the Trustees herein named and their successors shall in their discretion take the necessary legal steps by amendment of the Charter or By-Laws of the Corporation or Corporations or otherwise for the application of the residue of the Trust Fund to such purposes and objects herein declared as shall in their judgment be maintainable, and in addition, such other and further modes of relief and such other and further contributions to education for the benefit of the children of emigrants and for the support of widows and orphans of emigrants and for the extension of the benefits contemplated by this Trust to other Hebrew emigrants besides Russians and Roumanians as the said Trustees or their successors shall decide.

Seventh: Should any of the purposes or objects declared and contemplated in and by this instrument be incapable of performance as trusts or by a Corporation, it is my desire that they shall, nevertheless, if practicable, be carried out by the persons herein named, in their discretion, and for that purpose, and with the view that the objects herein specified shall be fully and completely effectuated I hereby designate and appoint Myer S. Isaacs, Jesse Seligman, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Julius Goldman, Mayer Sulzberger and William B. Hackenburg, and the survivors jointly as my attorneys to make, execute, and deliver such instruments as shall have the effect of appropriating said fund, and of apportioning the moneys or securities constituting the same or so much thereof as they shall deem necessary to carry out such objects respectively, and to pay out said moneys and deliver said securities accordingly, giving to my said attorneys and the survivors the power of designating successors to all or any of their number who shall die or resign or become disqualified, and the power of holding and transferring, as shall be directed by the majority of their number, such moneys, stocks, bonds, mortgages and other securities, part of the capital of the fund as shall from time to time be found expedient, and the power of investing and reinvesting the said capital and such other powers in the premises as shall be requisite to carry out the purposes and objects herein declared and contemplated.

Eighth: I *desire* the Trustees and their successors to provide that the capital of the fund be invested in bonds of the United States of America or of any State, City or County thereof or upon bonds secured by mortgage on unencumbered real estate within the United States and that this provision shall not be altered except by the unanimous vote of the Trustees or their successors.

Ninth: While it is my desire that with the exception of the sum of two hundred and forty thousand dollars appropriated for the purposes and objects in the first article hereof, no part of the capital shall be expended, but the same shall be invested, and the income only be appropriated and expended as hereinbefore stated: I, nevertheless, authorize the Trustees herein designated and their successors to assent to an expenditure from the capital should it be deemed expedient or should the income prove insufficient adequately to carry out the purposes herein declared, provided, however, that no encroachment upon the capital shall be allowed beyond an amount deemed necessary and authorized by the written assent of two-thirds of the Trustees herein named, and their successors, for the time being and no encroachment upon the capital shall be allowed until the expiration of ten years from the date hereof, and in such cases only for the purpose of the purchase of land and the erection of buildings for schools, workshops, and other purposes contemplated by the provisions of sub-divisions five and six of the fourth article hereof, and not more than ten per cent of the capital shall be expended in any year.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Paris, France, the Twenty-second day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one.

In the presence of M. de Hirsch
Adam E. King,
Jules Doet,
Robert M. Hooper,
Vice Consul General, Paris.
(acknowledged before U. S. Consul General in Paris, Jan. 22, 1891)

We do hereby accept the Trusts set forth in the above instrument.
In the presence of:

A. S. Solomons,
Myer S. Isaacs,
Jesse Seligman,
Jacob H. Schiff,
Oscar S. Straus,

HENRY RICE,
JAMES H. HOFFMAN,
JULIUS GOLDMAN,
MAYER SULZBERGER,
WM. B. HACKENBURG.

(Recorded in the Office of the Register of the City and County of New York, in Liber 1 of Miscellaneous Instruments, page 11, on the 9th day of February, A.D. 1891.)

APPENDIX C

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

In the Matter
of the Incorporation
of
THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND

We, the undersigned, being citizens of the United States and the majority, citizens of and resident within the State of New York, desiring to associate ourselves for benevolent, charitable, scientific and missionary purposes, DO hereby make, sign and acknowledge this certificate in writing and request that the same be filed in the office of the Secretary of State, and also in the office of the Clerk of the City and County of New York in which County the business of said Society is to be conducted, that is to say:

First: The name or title by which such Society shall be known in law is

THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND

Secondly: The particular business and objects of such Society are:

1. The education and relief of Hebrew emigrants from Europe, chiefly from Russia and Roumania, and the education and relief of the children of such emigrants.

2. *Training* of emigrants and their children in a handicraft; contributing to their support while learning such handicraft, and furnishing necessary tools, implements, and other assistance to enable them to earn a livelihood.

3. *Instruction* of emigrants and their children in the English language, in the duties and obligations of life and citizenship in the United States, in technical and trade education, and the establishment and subvention of schools, workshops and other suitable agencies for such instruction.

4. *Instruction* of such emigrants and their children in agricultural work and in improved methods of farming, and aid to agriculturists by way of loans on real or chattel security.

5. *Co-operation* with established agencies in the United States, furnishing aid, relief and education to needy and deserving applicants coming within the classes herein designated.

6. *Aiding* individuals and families coming within the classes designated while awaiting work and while on their way to, and when settled in, new homes in the United States.

Thirdly: The number of trustees shall be Nine.*

Fourthly: The names of the Trustees for the first year of its existence as an Incorporated Society are Myer S. Isaacs, Jesse Seligman, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Julius Goldman, Mayer Sulzberger and William B. Hackenburg.

* Changed to 13 by amendment Jan. 22, 1906.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals at the City of New York the ninth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one.

Myer S. Isaacs
Jesse Seligman
Jacob H. Schiff
Oscar S. Straus
Julius Goldman

APPENDIX D

OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES OF THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND, 1934

Officers, 1934

George W. Naumburg............................*President*
Stanley M. Isaacs............................*Vice-President*
Richard S. Goldman............................*Treasurer*
Max J. Kohler*..........................*Honorary Secretary*
Eugene S. Benjamin......................*Managing Director*

Board of Trustees, 1934

Max J. Kohler*
S. G. Rosenbaum
Abram I. Elkus
S. F. Rothschild
Charles L. Bernheimer
Arthur Hays Sulzberger
Waldemar Kops
Stanley M. Isaacs
Richard S. Goldman
Benjamin J. Buttenwieser
Aaron Rabinowitz
George W. Naumburg
Lewis L. Strauss

General Agents

Adolphus S. Solomons.......................... 1890–1903
(*Honorary General Agent*)...................... 1903–1910
Emanuel Marx (*Acting General Agent*)............ 1903–1905
H. L. Sabsovich............................... 1905–1915
Bernard A. Palitz.............................. 1915–1922

Assistant Secretary

George Bookstaver............................. 1916–

* Deceased.

APPENDIX E

TRUSTEES OF THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND, 1891-1934

Myer S. Isaacs	original Trustee	1891	deceased May 25, 1904
Jesse Seligman	" "	1891	" Apr. 29, 1894
Jacob H. Schiff	" "	1891	" Sept. 25, 1920
James H. Hoffman	" "	1891	" July 10, 1900
Julius Goldman	" "	1891	resigned 1906
Mayer Sulzberger	" "	1891	deceased Apr. 20, 1923
William B. Hackenburg	" "	1891	" June 27, 1918
Oscar S. Straus	" "	1891	resigned 1898
Henry Rice	" "	1891	deceased June 7, 1914
Emanuel Lehman	elected "	1894	" Jan. 10, 1907
Abraham Abraham	" "	1898	" June 28, 1911
Eugene S. Benjamin	" "	1900	appointed Managing Director 1923
Nathan Bijur	" "	1902	deceased July 8, 1930
Max J. Kohler	" "	1906	" July 24, 1934
Louis Siegbert	" "	1906	deceased Nov. 16, 1911
Samuel S. Fleisher	" "	1906	resigned Feb. 7, 1932
Murry Guggenheim	" "	1906	" Dec. 10, 1915
S. G. Rosenbaum	" "	1906	
Abram I. Elkus	" "	1908	
S. F. Rothschild	" "	1911	
Charles L. Bernheimer	" "	1912	
Alfred Jaretzki	" "	1914	deceased Mar. 14, 1925
Herbert H. Lehman	" "	1916	resigned Jan. 21, 1923
Julius Rosenwald	" "	1919	deceased Jan. 6, 1932
Mortimer L. Schiff	" "	1921	" Aug. 4, 1931
Samuel Greenbaum	" "	1923	" Aug. 26, 1930
Arthur Hays Sulzberger	" "	1923	
Waldemar Kops	" "	1925	
Roger W. Straus	" "	1926	resigned Dec. 1, 1930
Stanley M. Isaacs	" "	1930	
Richard S. Goldman	" "	1930	
Benjamin J. Buttenwieser	" "	1931	
Aaron Rabinowitz	" "	1932	
George W. Naumburg	" "	1932	
Lewis L. Strauss	" "	1933	

APPENDIX F

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Officers, 1934

Lewis L. Strauss.................................*President*
Eugene S. Benjamin..........................*Vice-President*
Francis F. Rosenbaum...........................*Treasurer*
Reuben Arkush.................................*Secretary*

Board of Directors, 1934

Reuben Arkush
Eugene S. Benjamin
Richard S. Goldman
Alfred Jaretzki, Jr.
Jacob G. Lipman
George W. Naumburg
Alfred Rheinstein
Francis F. Rosenbaum
Lewis L. Strauss

Directors, 1900 to 1934

*Abraham Abraham	1900–1902
Reuben Arkush	1922
Mark Ash	1903–1907
Eugene S. Benjamin	1900
*Abraham Bijur	1922
Julius Goldman	1900–1902; 1903
Richard S. Goldman	1932
*William B. Hackenburg	1900–1902
*Alfred Jaretzki	1905–1925
Alfred Jaretzki, Jr.	1926
Jacob G. Lipman	1914
*Morris Loeb	1900–1912
*Eugene Meyer	1902–1909
Eugene Meyer, Jr.	1909–1914
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.	1925–1933
George W. Naumburg	1932
*Sigmund Neustadt	1900–1902
*Marx Ottinger	1900–1901
*Francis D. Pollak	1913–1916
Alfred Rheinstein	1934
Joseph A. Rosen	1919–1922; 1923–1924
Francis F. Rosenbaum	1923
Solomon G. Rosenbaum	1907–1919
Fred M. Stein	1901–1904
Percy S. Straus	1902–1932
Lewis L. Strauss	1920
*Cyrus L. Sulzberger	1902–1932
Morris D. Waldman	1919–1920

* Deceased.

APPENDIX G

THE JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Total Loans Granted and Closed 1900-1933

State	Applications Granted		No. of Farmers*	No. of Farms	Loans Closed	
	Number	Amount			Number	Amount
Alabama	2	$ 1,100.00	2	2	1	$ 250.00
Arkansas	1	400.00	1	1	1	400.00
California	16	16,475.00	17	13	13	12,975.00
Colorado	18	15,662.00	14	14	16	13,662.00
Connecticut	2,442	1,373,641.68	2,183	1,885	2,248	1,218,556.25
Delaware	78	37,974.97	81	59	72	30,804.97
Florida	14	9,070.00	14	12	13	8,870.00
Georgia	6	2,463.40	4	5	6	2,163.40
Idaho	1	500.00	1	1	1	500.00
Illinois	39	29,050.00	39	35	32	26,400.00
Indiana	81	49,876.26	72	64	73	45,376.26
Kansas	1	400.00	1	1	1	400.00
Kentucky	4	5,150.00	3	3	4	5,150.00
Maryland	15	16,400.00	27	23	15	13,850.00
Massachusetts	504	295,426.02	457	393	460	264,104.28
Michigan	749	445,416.97	664	651	701	403,301.97
Minnesota	6	3,900.00	6	6	5	2,650.00
Missouri	10	3,900.00	8	8	6	2,600.00
Montana	24	20,450.00	21	20	20	16,250.00
Nebraska	17	12,500.00	15	15	16	12,100.00
New Hampshire	19	6,642.78	23	15	17	5,442.78
New Jersey	2,862	1,892,093.48	2,598	2,293	2,641	1,675,206.46
New Mexico	1	1,000.00	1	1	—	—
New York	2,922	1,671,266.95	2,816	2,430	2,653	1,480,309.93
North Carolina	6	1,925.00	4	4	6	1,925.00
North Dakota	461	268,941.49	218	224	435	253,165.30
Ohio	508	340,990.01	464	438	473	312,115.01
Oklahoma	4	2,350.00	4	5	3	1,350.00
Oregon	2	800.00	2	2	1	300.00
Pennsylvania	377	211,850.67	352	308	355	192,580.00
Rhode Island	5	2,650.00	4	4	4	2,350.00
South Carolina	3	3,100.00	13	3	3	3,100.00
South Dakota	45	30,009.05	35	35	42	28,696.05
Tennessee	1	100.00	1	1	1	100.00
Texas	11	9,005.16	13	13	11	9,005.16
Vermont	4	1,700.00	4	3	3	1,600.00
Virginia	1	1,000.00	1	1	1	1,000.00
Washington	65	32,784.67	53	47	61	30,559.67
Washington, D. C.	1	500.00	1	1	1	500.00
Wisconsin	82	70,252.80	64	63	76	63,052.80
Wyoming	121	95,370.54	102	97	104	79,712.24
Canada	31	18,018.42	31	29	30	16,485.70
Total	11,560	$7,002,107.32	10,434	9,228	10,625	$6,238,920.23

* In this number are included farmers who received more than one loan.

APPENDIX H

THE INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL OFFICE

DISTRIBUTION SINCE 1901 OF 73,960 PERSONS IN 1,731 CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, ALSO GIVING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS SENT TO EACH STATE, AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CITIES IN EACH STATE

States	Cities	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	Totals
Alabama	48	52	37	47	88	115	136	88	88	19	27	33	45	59	56	28	9	7	934
Arizona	11	..	1	1	2	3	11	7	1	..	1	2	8	4	5	5	1	7	59
Arkansas	17	66	14	9	8	34	28	20	6	..	16	11	13	12	14	5	1	4	261
California	68	36	67	260	429	233	403	369	323	294	301	367	648	432	281	172	112	123	4,850
Colorado	43	104	218	214	189	216	380	383	283	141	120	135	91	69	41	28	71	108	2,791
Connecticut	27	23	67	139	15	26	12	1	27	10	..	..	29	22	7	..	17	5	400
Dist. of Columbia	1	5	1	..	..	2	9	11	7	1	4	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	51
Florida	9	17	23	38	29	24	14	22	52	24	9	27	26	33	18	12	5	2	375
Delaware	5	..	2	..	5	..	1	2	2	2	..	..	4	..	..	..	5	..	23
Georgia	45	15	32	45	65	114	103	115	133	59	92	80	218	90	68	13	10	10	1,262
Idaho	2	..	..	1	3	1	..	4	..	..	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	17
Illinois	86	131	302	412	528	640	585	588	612	489	545	625	640	602	420	239	99	77	7,534
Indiana	48	100	166	183	188	234	259	315	184	113	162	181	253	323	93	58	71	17	2,900
Iowa	64	18	76	113	157	96	147	200	177	68	63	56	118	81	85	33	27	17	1,532
Kansas	41	42	66	39	36	28	36	38	42	22	16	15	19	26	20	11	8	1	465
Kentucky	20	46	32	33	84	98	137	110	89	57	33	13	64	35	29	10	9	16	895
Louisiana	25	29	107	69	53	75	45	57	66	10	8	19	32	21	39	31	10	9	680
Maine	17	..	..	9	5	7	8	5	19	2	..	..	12	13	2	1	..	6	89
Maryland	13	9	6	13	53	53	31	32	23	6	..	4	8	20	8	5	1	..	272
Massachusetts	30	5	9	122	81	42	40	18	22	18	9	23	30	38	89	7	17	7	577
Michigan	67	104	75	162	187	239	290	450	180	191	443	394	804	1,175	285	278	294	184	5,735
Minnesota	40	58	79	147	211	235	248	308	227	163	129	98	116	206	148	70	43	11	2,497
Mississippi	46	35	41	17	28	40	95	20	13	7	9	8	7	2	18	5	1	7	353
Missouri	51	73	300	765	980	608	620	671	426	370	378	310	369	381	164	97	61	54	6,627
Montana	17	1	7	11	5	4	6	..	21	6	7	..	11	19	14	1	3	1	117

APPENDIX H—*Continued*

States	Cities	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	Totals
Nebraska	23	15	105	326	184	180	263	366	209	84	76	72	78	77	45	16	36	24	2,156
Nevada	3	..	..	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	1	2	7	..	..	..	4	20
New Hampshire	8	..	1	..	1	..	3	6	2	..	..	11	3	9	1	..	..	..	37
New Jersey	28	151	85	112	121	91	102	123	75	18	77	7	42	21	8	1	7	..	1,041
New Mexico	11	4	25	..	1	..	5	11	1	2	..	..	1	1	4	..	..	1	56
New York	129	20	90	240	479	454	425	475	238	247	230	176	274	231	104	45	26	19	3,773
North Carolina	17	..	2	7	1	9	9	4	18	14	1	5	1	4	21	10	6	1	113
North Dakota	47	5	6	33	22	18	79	95	84	28	30	21	26	52	61	24	10	3	597
Ohio	87	152	350	726	622	765	1,020	1,065	352	419	680	613	802	1,207	585	272	233	154	10,017
Oklahoma	40	12	44	4	35	6	20	24	15	7	29	14	13	11	22	23	22	10	311
Oregon	8	11	30	19	53	51	117	110	55	100	69	73	56	48	28	16	13	9	858
Pennsylvania	133	155	265	346	225	362	362	375	194	83	127	97	236	344	141	60	71	23	3,466
Rhode Island	3	..	1	2	21	1	..	..	6	3	..	..	11	8	2	..	..	..	55
South Carolina	30	3	7	..	4	21	8	19	56	11	15	27	29	11	16	11	9	..	247
South Dakota	18	7	8	1	6	9	2	5	19	7	2	2	..	2	4	6	8	1	89
Tennessee	19	72	26	45	92	152	192	136	91	43	59	61	66	74	73	22	28	7	1,239
Texas	59	113	121	121	110	149	89	83	121	60	76	103	95	82	148	56	12	21	1,560
Utah	10	..	1	1	13	10	5	8	5	12	13	7	4	8	21	29	..	2	139
Vermont	17	..	17	..	8	7	11	5	11	..	2	6	13	8	3	4	..	..	95
Virginia	20	32	10	11	16	41	35	21	36	30	25	9	53	64	35	17	15	5	455
Washington	13	10	8	9	21	27	64	127	52	123	72	76	65	112	86	27	22	6	907
West Virginia	23	42	32	22	8	16	3	11	16	14	3	5	6	10	6	3	1	3	201
Wisconsin	74	35	207	482	364	314	274	371	201	112	77	124	457	388	165	64	36	38	3,709
Wyoming	9	..	4	..	1	4	..	4	..	2	3	1	8	2	10	2	4	1	46
Canada	58	22	35	169	186	150	185	308	228	13	..	35	99	25	8	1	..	..	1,464
Argentine	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Brazil	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	9
Cuba	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	3
Grand Total	1,731	1,830	3,208	5,525	6,023	6,005	6,922	7,586	5,108	3,504	4,043	3,950	6,025	6,469	3,501	1,821	1,434	1,006	73,960

Total number distributed by the Philadelphia Branch during a period of 9 years 2,459
Total number distributed by the Boston Branch during a period of 11 years 2,576
Total number distributed by I. R. O. and its branches 78,995

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INDEX

A BRIEF SYNOPSIS

OF

"THE HISTORY OF THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND"

THE PAST FIFTY YEARS SAW THE transplantation of nearly one-third of the Jews of Eastern Europe to the United States. It was a veritable tidal wave, incredible in swiftness and extent. In the course of a single generation, one out of every three Jews living in the countries of Eastern Europe had left his homeland. Within a comparatively short time, the Jewish emigres here—in contrast with other immigrant groups—had the ingredients of a practically complete society. All generations, all classes and nearly every occupation typical of a normal social group were represented. The problems of transit and resettlement of these several millions of Jews became perforce matters of international concern. The Baron de Hirsch Fund was created to deal with the needs of these immigrants in the United States, who constituted the vast majority—at least three-fourths—of those who left their ancestral homes. It was begun as part of one of the noblest plans ever conceived by a great philanthropist for the redemption of his people through emigration and the reconstruction of their lives. Organized at a most critical time, the Fund has continued its work for nearly half a century, spanning in its long career the influx of Eastern European Jews during the first half of this period, the virtual cessation of this movement after the War, and the recent entry of Jews from Germany. This volume is the first definitive record and evaluation of the labors of the Baron de Hirsch Fund since its inception.

The Americanization of the Jewish immigrant was the principal aim. The Trustees of the Fund attacked the problems of the adjustment and assimilation of the immigrant Jewish population from many angles: relief, temporary aid, the promotion of suburban industrial enterprises, removal from urban centers, land settlement, agricultural training, trade and general education, and the aid and protection of the immigrants through port work and legislative and legal channels. Hardly a phase of Jewish immigrant life in the United States remained untouched. The vigor and the ability to care for themselves shown by the immigrants through the agencies and institutions they subsequently created, made the emergency and relief activities of the Fund unneces-

sary as time went on, so that for the past two decades it has been concentrating its energies upon the development of the permanent institutions and subsidiary organizations created, subsidizing other agencies better fitted to carry on certain tasks.

This survey shows that the Trustees of the Fund anticipated, to a surprising degree, many of the social techniques which have now become commonplaces in social engineering. Their pioneering not only aided thousands of Jewish immigrants individually and en masse but materially influenced American sentiment and practice. The organization of the first secondary agricultural school in the United States, the initiation of the first credit unions, the institution of new methods of training in trades for the immigrant youth, the distribution of the immigrants from congested urban centers to the smaller communities, were widely acclaimed by American experts. The methods of educating the immigrant youth and adult in the Baron de Hirsch immigrant classes in English and American Government were adopted and closely followed. The intensive work of aid to and education of the Jewish farmers had no parallel in American experience. The present governmental program of subsistence-homesteading was anticipated by the unsuccessful efforts of many years by the Fund to relocate industries in smaller centers and agricultural sections; by the aid to part-time agriculture whose value is only now being recognized by the farm credit agencies of the government; and, more directly, by the organization of settlements of an agricultural type, located near industrial centers, members of which depend partly for their maintenance upon work in the nearby towns. All these activities were parts of a far-flung program for the reorganization of the occupationally concentrated and highly urbanized character Jewish immigrant life had assumed in the United States.